THE MAKERS OF THE MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE

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1844-1894

BY
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PREFACE

The purpose of this little book is to record the process by which the Meadville Theological School came into being and to exhibit something of its history during its first half-century. The enterprise is best accomplished by studying the character and mentality and typical thought of the men who, with sacrificial toil and spiritual courage, created a school of free inquiry under difficult conditions. They made possible for others the priceless boon of intellectual freedom in the study of religion and by the nobility of their devout lives they created a tradition for the school which has been felt as a vehicle of divine grace for the use of that freedom. One who owes to them the enjoyment of this heritage has found it a happy privilege to commemorate them in these pages and he believes that this story of men who more than many were freely responsive to the main currents of advancing thought will contribute something to the history of culture in America.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING OF THE SCHOOL

BEFORE the founding of the Meadville Theological School, only Presbyterian and Lutheran seminaries had been established west of the Alleghanies, and the only American instruction in liberal theology was given in the Divinity School of Harvard University. West of the Hudson River a general system of public education was, as yet, imperfectly developed. Free public schools in Pennsylvania were made possible by law in 1834, but the law was rather slowly put into effect. The colleges that existed were controlled by denominations pledged to Calvinist doctrine and could not be expected to recruit the liberal ministry. The only Unitarian churches west of Albany and Philadelphia were in Trenton, Rochester, and Buffalo in New York State, in Northumberland and Meadville in Pennsylvania, in Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Geneva, Illinois and Chicago. There were, however, in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio an increasing number of loosely related religious societies alienated from Calvinism and

other forms of orthodoxy, almost identical in their affirmations and negations with the New England churches which had become Unitarian. Early in the century such groups had been formed in northern New England and their evangelists had carried the movement southward and westward, meeting a similar movement that was spreading eastward from Kentucky. They were, in general, small village groups of plain people bred in frontier conditions, apt readers of the Bible but indifferent to the learned intellectual distinctions of Old Calvinism and Hopkinsianism or to the strife between Free Will and Calvinist Baptists. For knowledge of divine things the Bible sufficed for them and the sole requisite qualification for membership in a church was a serious experience of forgiving and reforming grace. They wished to bear no other name than that first given to disciples of Jesus in Antioch. Plain Bible Christians, scorning sectarianism, hoping for a union of all Christians on their simple basis, they had for their ministers men who were called by the Spirit to preach but not drilled in the elaborate doctrinal systems taught in theological schools. In many cases they were men of fine native intelligence and their independent study of Scripture, unbiassed by creedal standards, led them to lay aside the traditional doctrines of the Trinity, of man's total corruption, and the limitation of salvation to the elect. Some of them read

Channing's works as they appeared and felt kinship with him. Their own movement had begun in a different social class from that identified with the parishes which became Unitarian and it kept its independent existence in part by a degree of class consciousness, but Channing's religious democracy and evangelical fervor broke through that barrier. Channing's *Baltimore Discourse* of 1819 confirmed the interpretation of Scripture which they had already publicly advocated. The interesting *Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger* by Rev. E. G. Holland shows that a Unitarian missionary work without the Unitarian name was zealously conducted in New York State some years before the liberals of Boston took their first step of organization by the formation of the Berry Street Conference. In public debates Badger and Elder David Millard, a preacher of the Christian Connection in West Bloomfield, New York, had shown the doctrines of the Trinity, the Deity of Jesus and Total Depravity to be without foundation in the Bible. In view of the interest thus excited Millard, in 1818, published his Unitarian argument in the pamphlet *True Messiah Exalted*, and with increase of knowledge, due to the works of Noah Worcester and Channing, published it in 1823 in larger book form as *The True Messiah in Scripture Light; or the Unity of God and Proper Sonship of Jesus Christ Affirmed and Defended.*

This essentially lay movement began with a prejudice against a professionally trained clergy. It demanded liberty of prophesying for men in common callings summoned by divine grace to an itinerant ministry like that of apostolic days. When, however, stable churches developed in urban centers and more permanent pastorates began, the need of larger culture for the preachers was recognized by many of the leaders. It is not surprising, therefore, that reading Channing and coming into personal contact with men like Henry Ware, Jr., they should think of joining effort with the Unitarians for the training of liberal preachers in the developing western field. Apparently the first proposal of this sort came from Elder Simon Clough who, as pastor of the Christian Church in Boston, 1819–1824, had known and esteemed Mr. Ware. In July, 1827, being then pastor in New York City, he proposed to Ware and others that the Unitarians and Christians should unite in founding a new theological school on the Hudson River. While some of the Unitarians objected, Ware felt that something must be done to increase the number of ministers and he believed that the proposed connection with the Christians would produce preachers closer to plain people in speech and feeling. In this interest, Ezra Stiles Gannett was appointed to attend the Christian Conference to be held in West

Bloomfield, New York, in September, 1828.[1] Nothing came of these negotiations beyond pleasant personal relations. Already, in 1826, Ware had visited Elder Millard in West Bloomfield, finding him a "sensible and interesting man." [2] In Bloomfield, in 1825, Millard began the publication of a religious journal, *The Gospel Luminary*, which two years later was removed to New York.[3] It was edited by Elder Joseph Badger, a preacher of great native ability who by his reading had acquired a very serviceable knowledge of theology. In the summer of 1828, Badger came into rather close relations with Ware, Gannett, and Tuckerman in Boston, and was offered an attractive appointment connected with Tuckerman's missionary work in Boston. While distrustful of sectarian seminaries, he was none the less eager to promote education and he reverenced Dr. Channing not only as "one of the most exemplary and devoted Christians that we have ever seen," but also for his refined and polished culture. Becoming editor of *The Christian Palladium* in 1832, Badger printed in that journal many extracts from Channing and *The Christian Examiner*, thus promoting sympathy between the

[1] John Ware, *Memoir of the Life of Henry Ware, Jr.*, Vol. I, pp. 227–8.

[2] Ibid. 211.

[3] J. P. Barrett, *The Centennial of Religious Journalism*, p. 456.

two groups of religious liberals. In September, 1835, he spent an evening with Channing in Newport, the talk being of education in relation to the Christian Connection, and later he invited Channing to write an article which appeared in *The Christian Palladium* for February 14, 1837.[4] A part of the article, objecting to a creed as a bond of union, is found in Channing's collected works (one volume edition, 486), but the chief purpose of the communication was to rouse the Christian Connection to provide a better educated ministry. The conference with Channing may account for the renewal, in 1835, of Ware's effort to provide, for societies springing up in small and remote communities, "preachers whose education and habits and views in life would render them willing to labor in a narrow sphere and for small compensation." Due to Ware's insistence, meetings were held in 1837 to discuss a plan for a school in a country town to receive lads from ten to twelve years of age, some of whom should be carried through college and divinity school, "and some to be trained for the ministry without a public education." The project had to be postponed because no suitable place and director could be found.[5] In the circles of the Christian Connec-

[4] *The Christian Palladium,* Vol. V, pp. 209, 305. E. G. Holland, *Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger,* pp. 301 f, 305.

[5] John Ware, *Memoir of the Life of Henry Ware, Jr.,* Vol. II, pp. 157 f; Fuller detail in Joseph Allen's *History of The Worcester Association,* pp. 253–260.

tion the matter continued to be agitated by Elder Simon Clough. In November, 1841, he urged that a meeting of the whole denomination be held to mature plans for a university, a biblical school, and a commentary of the Bible suited to the Christian Church.[6] The death of Clough in July, 1842, meant a long postponement of such plans.

In the meantime, in 1836, an independent plan of Unitarian origin was projected. Buffalo had reached a high tide of prosperity and one of the golden dreams there cherished was the creation of a great university of western New York. A share in the development of such a university was one of the inducements offered to Rev. George Hosmer of Northfield, Massachusetts, when he was called to the pastorate of the Buffalo Unitarian Church. The *Memorial of Hosmer* published by his children, mentions only the project of a university, but another enterprise is mentioned in a manuscript by H. A. Reid preserved in the Meadville Library, entitled *Origin and History of the Meadville Theological School. A Report read before the Society of Inquiry, January, 10, 1860.* This contains a direct quotation from Dr. Hosmer to the effect that after he had twice declined the call to Buffalo, "Mr. N. P. Sprague wrote me that he and two friends of his had thought of founding a

[6] Rev. E. W. Humphreys, *Memoirs of Deceased Christian Ministers.* Dayton, Ohio, 1880.

Theological School in Buffalo for the West; and if I would come and take charge of the society, he was ready to give $25,000, and he thought as much more would be given by others. And then his plan was that a professor should be called and he help me and I help him. Upon this state of facts, I came here to Buffalo in October, 1836. Immediately the financial revulsion took place, and Mr. Sprague lost his property. Nothing further was done about the proposed School; and we had a hard struggle to carry forward our little society."

This was not the only project that failed. In 1840 plans were made for a school in Cincinnati or Louisville, and a little later Rev. W. G. Eliot of St. Louis, expecting to be assisted by a colleague, proposed to open a school and even advertised for students. Only one student appeared, no colleague was obtained, and the project came to an end. The successful effort was to be made in Meadville.

The genesis of the Meadville enterprise is recounted in H. A. Reid's manuscript quoting Dr. George Hosmer of Buffalo: "As to the earliest thought and conversation which ultimately led to the establishment of the Meadville School, Elder J. C. Church, of Springs Corners, Pennsylvania, informed me that he was visiting at the house of Mr. H. J. Huidekoper, in the fall of 1843, when the conversation fell upon the subject of the Christian denomination. Mr. Huide-

koper asked many questions about the origin of that body, and their peculiar views, and seemed to become warmly interested in the subject. He finally asked whether they had any institutions of learning for the benefit of their ministry; and upon hearing that they had none, he immediately suggested a plan for supplying that deficiency, in which Elder Church concurred. And *this* was the little fire which kindled such a great matter." Presumably this conversation took place shortly before the ordination of Frederic Huidekoper on October 12, on which occasion the plan received the warm approval of Dr. Hosmer, and apparently also of Rev. James Freeman Clarke, the son-in-law of H. J. Huidekoper.

To Dr. Hosmer is due the first mention in public print of the Meadville enterprise. In his report of the dedication of the Church of the Messiah in Syracuse, a report published in *The Monthly Miscellany* for December, 1843 (Vol. IX, 373), he makes an urgent plea for more ministers to do pioneer work. Five years previously he could have gathered a society in Erie but no minister could be obtained. "Nothing is wanting but a good minister to build up a church in Cleveland or Detroit. We must have more ministers. . . . I hope that Mr. Huidekoper, who was ordained the last month by Brother Clarke and myself, may be induced to devote his attention to the establishment of a Theological School at Meadville. He has a good theological

library, and is well suited to become a theological instructor. Meadville is a pleasant village; and devoted young men might go there and study with him, for a longer or shorter time according to circumstances, who would not or could not go through a course of studies at Cambridge. The present Unitarian minister in Meadville, who succeeds Mr. Emmons, is Rev. E. G. Holland. He belongs to the 'Christian Connexion,' and is an able and promising young man. He might be induced to help Mr. Huidekoper, and through his connection with the Christian denomination young men of that class of Christians would be drawn thither to study."

This was quickly followed by an announcement from Rev. James Freeman Clarke in *The Christian World*, January 27, 1844: "Unitarians have been talking many years about establishing a Western Theological School. We are happy to inform them that one has been at last actually commenced. We do not now refer to Belvedere in Illinois, although there are divinity students in that place.[7] But we speak of an attempt, in its infancy to be sure, without endowments, buildings, library or apparatus of any sort, but

[7] Arthur B. Fuller, eclipsed in fame by his famous sister Margaret, on graduating from Harvard College in 1843, opened an academy in Belvedere, Boone Co., Illinois, with some sixty scholars, "numbering among them two or three young ministers of the Christian Connection who suspended preaching for the benefit of his instruction." Richard F. Fuller, *Chaplain Fuller,* pp. 62, 74. *The Christian Palladium,* XIII, 235.

nevertheless having the two essential parts, teachers and pupils. This is in Meadville, Pennsylvania. The minister of that congregation is Mr. Holland, well known among the Christian ministers as a man of distinguished intellectual power and theological attainment. This gentleman has advertised that he will receive theological students, and several Christian preachers have already commenced, or are about to commence, their studies with him." Mr. Clarke added an appeal for a library, and in the issue of May 25 acknowledges the gift of twenty or thirty valuable theological works.

The announcement by Elder Holland, here mentioned, appeared in *The Christian Palladium*, January 10, 1843. It was designed for a group theologically akin to the Unitarians but, for the most part, of narrower intellectual interests. "The prime object of this article is to present intelligence, in relation to the excellent opportunity that before many months will be offered, in this place, for the improvement of young men who design to devote their lives to the gospel ministry. That young men who would be useful as ministers need intellectual as well as moral improvement, is a position so well established in every mind, possessing good sense, that it is wholly unnecessary that I, or any other man, should undertake to defend it. It is already a first principle. It is also true, that, while the mind needs the qualifications of useful

knowledge, the mainspring of useful action to the minister is in his spirituality and love of God and man. And the reason why I feel confidence in recommending the opportunity alluded to, for young men about to enter the ministry among us, is that the influences which are designed to be exerted will be favorable alike to impartation of suitable qualifications of mind, and to the preservation of spiritual vigor and earnestness.

"The intention is to open a school in Meadville, Pennsylvania, about the first of next September, for the purpose of properly educating young men who intend to preach the gospel—not of Calvin nor of Wesley, but of Jesus. The situation is a pleasant one. Meadville is an interesting village of nearly 2000 inhabitants, is healthy and surrounded by a good country. Boarding and washing could be had on reasonable terms.

"But the more essential part of the intelligence is that Mr. Frederic Huidekoper of this place who is very ably qualified to take upon him so important a charge, a gentleman of distinguished learning and piety, offers to give all such young men his time and labor as a teacher, for which he asks of them but one compensation, and that is, that they should give their minds faithfully to the studies they pursue.

"Mr. Huidekoper is a young man of twenty-

six or twenty-seven, and is zealously devoted to the purpose of doing good, and being in circumstances which place him above the need of a salary, he makes this truly generous and praiseworthy offer to those young men among us who intend to give their lives to the ministry, and who wish to improve their education. And in addition to this, if a sufficient number of names could be given, to make considerably certain that the plan could go into effect, he would obtain some $500 worth of books, so that students could be supplied without any cost to them. Scholars will be received for six months and for a year—for eighteen months, and for two and three years. Here the languages can be studied. The evidences of Christianity, sacred criticism, a critical knowledge of the Old and New Testament—such as can only be possessed by those, who know the ancient customs and modes of speaking peculiar to the ages in which the several parts of the Scriptures were written—ecclesiastical history, ancient history, good English composition, and elocution—instruction in these several departments of knowledge will be given. There will be opportunity in different places, for such students as may desire it, to improve their gifts. Indeed, when I consider the whole matter, I consider it my duty to publish abroad this *excellent opportunity for young ministers.* And it is desired that all such as purpose to avail themselves of this rare privilege, will, if

possible, send their names by the twentieth of February, 1844. And it is probable that Mr. Huidekoper will write an article for *The Palladium* on the qualifications of a minister ere long.

"E. G. HOLLAND.

"Meadville, Pennsylvania, December, 1843.

"P.S. Students here will not only find text books, but also an excellent library. The books furnished will of course be for their use while students."

The promised communication from Frederic Huidekoper appeared in the issue of February 21 (Vol. XII, 293). "The student," he wrote, "should have first of all a pious disposition. Otherwise he will never be able to kindle or to cherish the flame of devotional feeling in any of his fellow creatures. . . . He ought to feel an energy within him, when called to labor in a good cause." But some attainments in knowledge were also requisite; above all, a knowledge of Greek would enable the student to profit the more from the time spent in the school, and he should make himself a good English scholar capable of making others see and feel his thought as strongly as himself. In the next issue also, Mr. Huidekoper, recognizing the dearth of schools in the region, urged those who were unaided in study to prepare themselves by reading Josephus' *History of the Jewish Wars*, the last vol-

ume of Ferguson's *Rome* and the first three or four chapters of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* He offered specific advice for acquiring clearness and force of English style, and suggested the reading of Paley's *Evidences*, Ware's *Formation of a Christian Character*, Channing's *Self Culture.*

The response from the Christian Connection was encouraging. Elder J. E. Church of Springboro, Pennsylvania, heartly endorsed the enterprise. In *The Christian Palladium* (June 12, 1844), he argued that the ten or twelve applications for admission already received proved an imperious demand for such an institution and he predicted three times the number to come. He expressed the highest admiration for Mr. Frederic Huidekoper's scholarship and Christian devotion to the good of others without bounds of sect. "In becoming acquainted with our people, his spirit mingled with theirs. . . . His proposal has been made expressly for the benefit of our young ministers." The opening of the school on the following October first was formally advertised in *The Palladium*, July 17, and an approving editorial from Elder John Ross appeared on August 28. The aims and spirit of the enterprise were fully interpreted to the Christians by the serial publication (December 11, December 25, January 8) of Rufus P. Stebbins' impressive address at the dedication of the first Divinity Hall.

The idea of a school uniting Christians and Unitarians, as proposed by Elder Clough in 1827, was at last to be realized. The union had everything in its favor. Both groups were adverse to the temper of sectarianism, both held to liberty of conscience, both aimed at a catholic unity resting on a life accordant with the teaching of the New Testament but unfettered in thought by the traditional creeds. At the time there was little discoverable difference between the formal principles of the Christians and the majority of the Unitarians, the majority being, as yet, little affected by the Transcendentalist movement. Mr. Harm Jan Huidekoper wrote to James Freeman Clarke in April, "Mr. Holland's stay with us and Frederic's intercourse with the Christian ministers will tend to draw closer the connection between us and that important and widely diffused sect, and I rejoice at it because I believe that a closer intimacy and connection between the Christian and Unitarian denominations would be promotive of both religion and truth." At this time the sense of kinship between the two groups was evident. On the news of Channing's death, Elder Holland sent an affecting eulogy of him to *The Christian Palladium*. Farther west, the Christian evangelists were financially aided by the New England Unitarians.[8] This was notably true of Elder

[8] Report of the American Unitarian Association, 1844. *The Christian Palladium*, Vol. XIII, pp. 235, 284.

Walworth in Belvedere, Illinois, where Arthur Fuller, the Unitarian head of the Academy, sought with his coöperation to identify the efforts of the two groups in the west. As the preaching of such evangelists had much of the revivalist's fervor, it is interesting to read the ardent approval of *The Christian Palladium* (Vol. XII, 241) for George Channing's rebuke of any languid and listless Unitarianism. In the columns of *The Christian World,* George Channing had been chiding Dr. Frothingham for thinking that religion was repose of mind and heart: "He forgets that there are natures, yes, such natures as make up the great mass of mankind, which demand impulse, which thirst for divine influence, which pray for inspiration, which long for renewal, which must have God 'rend the heavens and come down,' or they perish miserably." With the Unitarian who spoke like that the revivalist Christian felt a thrill of sympathy. Why should they not come into closer union?

As a site for the school, Meadville had obvious advantages. It was already the leading center of culture for a wide area and it had promise of increasing this preëminence. It was one of the few college towns, Allegheny College having been founded there in 1815. About 1827, the Presbyterians had considered Meadville as an attractive site for a projected school, now the Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh. A

writer in *The Presbyterian* for July 28, 1849, held that the rejection of the Meadville location was a serious mistake. Since 1825, moreover, Meadville had a Unitarian church which, in 1835, built for itself the beautifully designed building which must have been a singularly impressive creation in the village of that time. The church was due to the efforts of Mr. Harm Jan Huidekoper who, since 1804, had lived in Meadville as the agent of the Holland Land Company. The admirable biography of this remarkable man by Francis Tiffany exhibits the nobility of his character, his activity and power of intellect, his public spirit, his courtly dignity, and his connection with important men and important affairs. *The Memoir of W. H. Channing* by O. B. Frothingham shows that Mr. Huidekoper's home was the resort of all who talked on high themes and that it was a paradise for certain cultivated Republican exiles from Germany. The Unitarian church and the family school, maintained by Mr. Huidekoper, had had the services of accomplished men like Ephraim Peabody, John Sullivan Dwight, William Henry Channing, and the whole circle was influenced by the rich culture of Mr. Huidekoper's son-in-law, James Freeman Clarke. Mr. Huidekoper himself had entered into literary discussion of theological questions by the publication (1831–1832) of a small monthly periodical, *The Unitarian Essayist*, which provided its

three hundred and forty subscribers with a pretty complete argument for Unitarian views. The theological competency of Mr. Huidekoper is well shown by his *Letter on the Unitarianism of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Era.* This is an able historical statement based on the materials found in Mosheim and Priestley. It appeared in *The Crawford Messenger* during a local controversy in 1830 and later in a small edition which was absorbed in Meadville and the neighborhood. In 1834, it was reprinted by Rev. Bernard Whitman in the August and September issues of his journal, *The Unitarian.* To his urging was due, also, the publication of *The Western Messenger,* an excellent periodical edited in Cincinnati by Ephraim Peabody from June, 1835, in Louisville by J. F. Clarke after February, 1836, and again in Cincinnati by W. H. Channing from June, 1839, to March, 1841. These facts indicate that Meadville, through the Huidekoper household, had already some eminence for theological activity. It was a liberal theology of the early type, resting, namely, on argument from Scripture. The younger men, J. S. Dwight, W. H. Channing, J. F. Clarke, were affected by the new philosophical idealism called Transcendentalism, but against the vague and irresponsible expressions of this revolt of youth the formed conservative mind of Mr. Huidekoper reacted with a gentle, kindly irony.

In this stimulating atmosphere of high discussion, influenced by gifted teachers and preachers from New England, Frederic Huidekoper, the oldest son of the household, had formed high ideals of scholarship and intellectual life. In 1834, he entered the sophomore class of Harvard College but in less than two years was obliged to suspend systematic study on account of the serious eye trouble which, in later years, ended in total blindness. After four years at home and two years of foreign travel and study, he pursued theology in the Harvard Divinity School and on October 12, 1843, in the Unitarian Church in Meadville, was ordained as an evangelist or minister-at-large. He expected to serve as a missionary in this growing region. The Meadville group was animated by the missionary spirit and maintained two Sunday schools in the outlying country. It was at the time of this ordination that Rev. G. H. Hosmer of Buffalo, who came to give the charge to the minister, urged the young scholar to undertake a school in Meadville. It was quickly agreed that Frederic Huidekoper should preside over the school, that Elder Holland should assist as professor and by periodic exchange with the Buffalo church enable Dr. Hosmer to come to Meadville for lectures on "Pastoral Care." Later, as the prospective enrolment and the demands of a proper curriculum loomed larger, this arrangement was seen to be inadequate. Mr.

Holland could not promise sufficient aid in addition to his pastoral duties and was not definitely disposed to remain permanently in Meadville. Accordingly, Frederic Huidekoper, going to Boston for the purchase of books in May, had conferences with persons there, the result of which was that the American Unitarian Association in August promised five hundred dollars a year for five years toward the salary of a well trained director. With the agreement that he should serve as pastor of the local church for an equal amount, Rev. Rufus Stebbins of Leominster, Massachusetts, was engaged as president. Related to the cost of living at that time this provision was not illiberal. Elder Holland amiably coöperated with this change of plan.

To house the school, Mr. Harm Jan Huidekoper presented a small, brick church, forty by sixty feet in size, which he bought at auction from the Cumberland Presbyterian Society. It stood on Center Street nearly opposite the County jail. By reconstruction of the interior, this first Divinity Hall provided, in front, a chapel seating two hundred, and two rooms in the rear, one for the library and class purposes, the other to serve for lectures and as a common room. Members of the school were to have access also to the large valuable library of Frederic Huidekoper, a collection which is now a precious part of the school's equipment. The building not being ready on October first, the

earliest sessions were in the office of Mr. Alfred Huidekoper. On October 24, there was a solemn dedication of the Hall with an address by President Stebbins, two hours in length, on the text from 2nd Timothy 2:15: "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of God." Of this truly remarkable discourse mention will be made later.

The proceedings were reported in *The Christian World* by Rev. Francis Holland of Rochester, New York, who records his first impression of the place: "As I approached the village from the hills of the west, at the close of a toilsome pilgrimage through many a poverty-stricken village, many a solemn forest solitude, the scene was as grateful as beautiful. Meadville is so much superior in all externals to the neighboring hamlets, its situation, buildings, and prosperous circumstances formed so marked a contrast to the places through which I passed, that I could not but rejoice over the new nursery of Liberal Christianity at the West." It was indeed fitting that Truth should be sought where Beauty dwelt. The peculiar charm of the region had delighted W. H. Channing when, ten years earlier than this, he came to the Huidekoper mansion: "I have never been amidst more beautiful scenery, and seldom in a sweeter family." The following description though not printed by Frothingham as a quotation must be

Channing's language: "The little town, with churches and houses among the green trees, lay in a valley through which French Creek ran. Rounded hills embraced it on every side, partly cleared. The valley was laid out in cultivated farms. An occasional orchard plot broke the monotony of the scene; alder trees grew by the fences; at intervals, an elm or sycamore hung over the stream. The sky was intensely blue, there were shining clouds enough to throw a shadow now and then and veil the almost too dazzling light." After one of his early visits to Meadville, Dr. George Hosmer wove into a great discourse a description of the scene which is so endeared to all who are privileged to have Meadville memories: "Imagine a village lying amidst high hills; the hills shaped in beauty, and covered with forests, cultivated fields, and pastures. Two streams find their ways among the hills, and uniting their waters at the northwestern edge of the landscape, flow gently through the village. Everywhere is verdure: the town lies amid the rich foliage. On the east and west are hills that might be called mountains; their summits perhaps three hundred feet high, and a mile and a half asunder. You see this landscape, the deep valley, the winding stream, the wooded hill-tops, the sloping fields and pastures, with grain, and flocks and herds. It is not strange that the presence of God should be felt in such a scene. It is in nowise superior to a thousand oth-

ers in our country; but it is very lovely; the Maker's smile seems to rest upon it; and in the air, fragrant with flowers and vocal with the songs of birds, His benediction is whispered to the ears of His children. And now, laying all the rest of the world out of mind, what a home is this which the Father has made for His children who dwell in this beautiful vale! We fill our rooms with pictures, but behold what pictures the Almighty has placed all around this landscape! What blending of sweet beauty and noble grandeur!"

CHAPTER II

PRESIDENT RUFUS PHINEAS STEBBINS

THE story of the genesis of the school shows that, at the outset, students were expected chiefly from the Christian Connection, strict Biblicists, zealous for a gospel which would strongly move heart and will to the perception of divine grace, students with little previous contact with the free world of intellectual inquiry. Unitarian students came in larger numbers than had been expected, but for a considerable time there were members enough of the former type to give to the inner life of the institution an earnestness and fervor that was never lost. Obviously, it was vitally important that such students should be introduced to the theological learning by men intellectually competent yet not "sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought," men to whom the gospel was not a mere historical topic but a present and passionate concern for the conduct of life. Fortunate indeed, then, was the school in its first teachers. The erudition of Professor Huidekoper was nothing less than amazing, but he had also the aims and spirit of an evangelist. Dr. Hosmer had large culture and intellectual vigor, but he was also a great

pastor and a man of rich sensibilities. Preëminently the first president united all the characteristics demanded by his office. He had learning, courage, force of character, reformative zeal, emotional eloquence, powerful and tender religious feeling.

Rufus Phineas Stebbins was born in South Wilbraham, Massachusetts, March 3, 1810. His boyhood was spent on a farm with winter sessions at a district school. At the age of twenty he entered Amherst College, and on graduation, in 1834, entered the Harvard Divinity School in the same class with Henry W. Bellows and Edmund H. Sears. Among upper classmen he knew Theodore Parker and Cyrus A. Bartol. He was as marked an individuality as any of these. His thought was shaped by his instructors, Andrews Norton, John Graham Palfrey, and Henry Ware, Jr. In 1837 he settled in Leominster and during this pastorate received young men as students for the ministry. One such student accompanied him to Meadville. A cousin, quoted in the biographical sketch by Rush Shippen in *The Unitarian Review* (Vol. XXIV, 424), describes the youthful Stebbins as bright, buoyant, athletic. "He could spring upon a horse's back from the ground and ride like the wind without pad or saddle." As for the young pastor in Leominster, we have his own self-description: "I was fresh from the seclusion of student life, all ablaze with enthusiasm, flaming with zeal to

correct all evils, and perfect all good in a day. I was restless, dissatisfied, belligerent." Dr. Shippen says of him: "As a preacher, he delighted in the Commandments; and his honest, burning, obedient, indignant soul would have liked it better if there had been three or four more." Both in Leominster and Meadville his militant morality, with his crusades against slavery, intemperance, war, and dancing, stirred up plenty of opposition, but his transparent integrity, his generous devotion to any good cause, and his robust health of body, mind, and soul made all men honor him and there are many indications of warm affection shown him by the sensitive and discerning young. If this vigorous, assertive temperament led to moments of sharp collision with men, they are unrecorded and forgotten. His replies to injurious criticisms of the school by writers in *The Christian Palladium* are perfect for good temper and good taste. It is probable that his final withdrawal from the school was in some degree connected with divergences between him and his associates as to institutional policy, but a noble reticence and unbroken urbanity on both sides leave us to the mere surmise of an honorable difference of judgment.

This dominant personality, for all his mental energy and zeal for disciplined intellectual process, was a man of fervent and kindly religious emotion. Reviewing the works of Leonard

Woods in *The Christian Examiner* (July, 1851), he writes: "The crying fault of theology is that it is divorced from religion, devotion. . . . We belong to the old-fashioned class of persons who believe that piety, a devout religious spirit, is as necessary to a clear perception of the truths of theology as logical acuteness and vigorous ratiocination." That Dr. Stebbins' piety could find moving expression is evidenced by many reports. Alvin Coburn, a student from the Christian Connection, speaks of his public prayer as a "baptism of celestial fire." [1] His address to the graduating class in 1848 was certainly not coldly formal: "This was a most affecting scene. As he spoke of the mingled emotions to which the hour gave birth; as he spoke of the joy which filled the heart at the thought of the good which should be accomplished through their instrumentality, and of the sorrow which the thought of parting brought with it, and as he reminded them that a few moments would dissolve the relation which had so long existed of teacher and pupil, and that with the morrow's sun they must go forth to the work which was given them to do, the gush of feeling could hardly be restrained. The audience also were deeply affected, and as the service closed with a touching appeal to the Throne of Grace, all were moved to tears." [2]

[1] *The Christian Palladium*, Vol. XVI, p. 356.

[2] *The Christian World*, July 15, 1848. Compare also the issue of Feb. 6, 1847.

Naturally a man of such ardor won the approbation of George Channing: "Professor Stebbins, who presides over the institution, has so got the root of the matter in him—in other words is so good a Christian, experimentally, not technically—that it is next to impossible for an unconverted man to take up his abode and be at peace, under such influences as have given, and will continue, we trust, the tone and character to this unexceptionable and most catholic religious school. Hence the reason why these young men, who have graduated at Meadville, have been so successful as preachers here and elsewhere. The moment you hear a Meadville scholar giving utterance to his sober and yet earnest thought: notice the flash of his eye; and watch his rapid enunciation; you feel sure that it was in no New England 'school of the prophets' that his education has been acquired." [3]

None the less the school stood for disciplined mental power and scholarship. Dr. Stebbins' valuation of culture is preserved to us in a vigorous and eloquent oration given under circumstances due to the local excitement caused by his energetic doctrinal preaching. Two literary societies among the students of Allegheny College had invited him to address them at the college commencement season. The college trustees insisted that the invitation should be withdrawn and on the refusal of the students to comply,

[3] *The Christian World,* September 11, 1847.

forbade the use of a college hall. A minority were even in favor of expelling students who should attend. This oration on "Academic Culture" was given in the Court House, July 1, 1851, where the rigidly orthodox but ever kindly Rev. John Reynolds of the Presbyterian Church relieved the situation by offering the prayer and giving the benediction.[4] The orator argued that a college course is designed to make not a tool but a man. It is for the acquisition of mental power, for a discipline that will render a man equal to any emergency and able to make any profession or avocation his servant. Time and toil, then, are needed. "The decanting of knowledge into the mind from a book or from the teacher will not make the soul grow. . . . It is not what the mind can hold but what it can produce, that is primarily to be sought." The development of such productive power is a matter of slow growth and of laboriously gathered nutriment. The college course, as here outlined by Dr. Stebbins, embraced the natural sciences as well as humanistic studies, and this complete culture, he argued, was demanded not only for the interests of science but for the practical activities of the statesman and philanthropist. And for its triumph in the world, religion, above all, requires scholarship.

The same thought dominates the sonorous ad-

[4] E. M. Wilbur, *Historical Sketch of the Independent Congregational Church, Meadville*, p. 48.

dress made at the dedication of the first Divinity Hall in October, 1844. He began with a moving panegyric for the untaught evangelists who had served the new western lands, but he then developed a magisterial exposition of the need of scholarship embracing the whole field of theological interest, an organism of studies only surpassed in completeness in our time by the inclusion of the *General History of Religions*. The term sociology had not yet been born, but the need of understanding the social structure and the social reforms demanded, was fully in mind. In this permanently interesting discourse President Stebbins set up a standard of learning difficult to attain in regions so ill supplied with schools or wealth beyond the level of existence. Nevertheless, the course of study adopted for Meadville was the same as that afforded by Harvard, save that Hebrew, Greek and Latin were optional. There was, moreover, a session, not unlike a German seminar in its method, dealing chiefly with problems of social betterment, an approach to the sociology of later days. Of the sessions of this Philanthropic Association, which, after 1856, was known as the Society of Inquiry, systematic and valuable records exist for the earlier years. It is interesting to note that in the session of February 18, 1851, the meeting voted that the theory of the development of one species from another as presented in *Vestiges of Creation* was not sustained

by facts and that the tendency of the work was injurious. But in 1851 Huxley and all biologists, save Grant of Edinburgh, were of the same view.

In the teaching programme, Stebbins was responsible for "Old Testament Interpretation," "Mental and Moral Philosophy," "Systematic Theology," and the "Evidences of Christianity." In addition, he gave talks to the students on health and hygiene, presided over conferences or debates, and criticised themes and sermons. His method of interpreting the Old Testament was of a kind common before the days of critical historical study but now extinct. Certainly he had come in contact with some early phases of historical criticism, but apparently his mind assimilated nothing of it. Nor did the experience of teaching change his views. His great concern was the credibility of the Mosaic record, not only in 1841, reviewing Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," in *The Christian Examiner*, but in 1852 when discussing the "Plagues of Egypt," in *The Christian Repository*. For a text book he used Gerard's *Institutes of Biblical Criticism* in the American reprint of 1823. The following is a specimen of Gerard's *Criticism*: "It is said to be absurd to represent the rainbow as created after the deluge, and made the sign of a covenant then entered into, when it necessarily results from the nature of light and rain; but either the constitution of the antediluvian world may have been

such as to prevent its appearance, or, it might have been after the flood, only appropriated to a new purpose, though it had always appeared." Having been drilled for the first year in these principles of criticism, the student, in the second year, was conducted through the literature of the Old Testament. "My duty as a teacher at Meadville required me to read the Pentateuch as well as the rest of the Hebrew literature contained in the Old Testament, annually, with my students." What text book was chosen as a guide for this? The early catalogues mention the *Introductions* of Jahn, Horne and De Wette. The last name is a little startling. Is it possible that Theodore Parker's version of De Wette was actually used as a text book? Assuredly not! A fund had been obtained for a supply of books to be loaned to students and the records of the library contain the lists of books so loaned. De Wette's work is not mentioned there. Parker, a fellow student of Stebbins in Harvard, had presented the school with a copy of his revision of De Wette, inscribing it "The Gift of a Friend to a Real Theology and a Practical Christianity." This seems to have been the only copy which the library owned in its first half century. Mention of it in the catalogues was, therefore, an act of politeness and probably what the student knew of De Wette was through the ridicule and refutation of his views in the text book actually used. This was the work of the Roman Catholic

scholar Jahn, translated and amplified with notes by Turner and Whittingham of the General Theological Seminary of New York. The choice of such a work and of such a methodology as Gerard's *Institutes*, when Moses Stuart's translation of Ernesti's *Principles of Criticism* was already available, shows that little of the historian's spirit and method belonged to Dr. Stebbins' mind. His case, however, was that of his generation with few exceptions. To be sure, coming from the Amherst class room of the eminent geologist Hitchcock, he had given serious attention to the first chapter of Genesis and the record of the rocks. In *The Christian Examiner* for 1841 (Vol. 29, p. 355), he frankly faces their discrepancies. His matured view of the matter is found in a review of Edward Hitchcock's "Religion of Geology" in 1852 (*Christian Examiner* Vol. 53, p. 51). He holds that the indisputable facts of geology force us to abandon current interpretations of Genesis I. He concludes that Moses did not intend to give a scientific account of the creation of the world, but, under divine guidance, simply compiled old traditional accounts with the intention of showing the people that their God was the creator of the world and that he was the one only God, thus showing polytheism to be a delusion. This notion of Moses as a divinely guided compiler of old records is, of course, an echo of Jahn and Turner's note on Jahn (p. 204).

Responsive to the training he had received in Harvard, Stebbins, like his Christian students, was simply a Bible Christian. An article on the "Inefficacy of the Light of Nature," in *The Christian Repository* (Vol. I, p. 7) [5] shows that he repudiated philosophy as a basis of faith and made the Bible the sole source of religious convictions. He was faithful to the teaching of his master, Andrews Norton. His own students were not so faithful to him, for in the Philanthropic Society, after a session on the minister's attitude to geology, they voted in the next meeting (January 15), that the Bible was not the only revelation. On July 18, 1852, Stebbins delivered to the graduating class of the Harvard Divinity School a discourse very different from one that he may have heard, himself, from Emerson on that refulgent summer day fourteen years earlier. The theme was: "The Bible; the Authoritative Rule of Faith and Practice." The essential statement is as follows: "I will assume for the Bible, then, nothing more than this; that it is a record of God's works and laws, and a history of events written by men who were eye-witnesses of the facts which they record, or who used reliable, contemporaneous documents, or such hymns and traditions as had come down to their times; including also writings of poets and teachers, some of whom had received divine illumination,

[5] Markings on page 199 of the library copy show that the article is by Stebbins.

others of whom wrote only with the aid of those ideas and that spirit which they had received through the revelation made to others. I claim, in this connection and for this argument, for the writers no especial aid in the composition or selection of materials which compose these books. I take them up just as I would the laws and historians of Greece or England, and I maintain that with this view, waving entirely the doctrine of plenary inspiration, or inspiration at all for the purpose of composition, the Bible is the last appeal, the final resort, the supreme law, the reliable and safe practical guide in life, the efficient agent in the restoration of the world." [6]

This did not mean that for himself Stebbins had wholly dismissed an inspiration of the text. In an article in *The Christian Repository* (Vol. II, p. 361) he banished any naïve dependence on the English wording, and, further, "it is obvious from the above examination, that even our Greek Testaments are not wholly verbally inspired, for some words have crept into the text which were not written by the evangelists." This modest permission of textual criticism seems to have led some students to question the inerrancy of Scripture and its miraculous attestation, and certain hostilities from brethren of the Christian Connection are traceable to these utterances. For himself, the admission of the fact of interpolations did not imperil the value of the New Testa-

[6] *The Christian Repository*, Vol. I, p. 181.

ment as a rule of faith: "We will not permit our faith to be shaken in its divinity." For him the Bible was a record of God's transactions with humanity and he devoutly believed in the substantial accuracy of the sacred account. In spite of the progress of biblical criticism, he maintained to the end of his life the views he taught in Meadville. In 1879 and 1880 he published a series of articles in *The Unitarian Review* which became the volume published in 1881: *A Study of the Pentateuch for Popular Reading.* The upshot of it is: "I believe that the Pentateuch is the work of Moses himself; that it has come down to us with few, very few, dislocations, interpolations, and corruptions; and that it will be handed down to coming ages as an admired monument of his wisdom, learning, and the arts of that remote age,—as a monument of an early revelation of the divine will, to restore and elevate the race."

The president's courses in Systematic Theology occupied a large place in the curriculum. They conformed to the old scheme of reason and revelation, of natural theology and revealed truth, the scheme of treatment which reigned from St. Paul to Schleiermacher. In the first year, students were occupied with Paley's *Natural Theology*, Butler's *Analogy*, and Palfrey's *Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity.* A half year course also dealt with the topic of Inspiration. Following this, a year and a half was

given to the exposition of Christian Doctrine. Doctrine, of course, was drawn from Scripture and its content was of ethical rather than of metaphysical character. From J. G. Palfrey, who had an eighteenth century mind and method, Dr. Stebbins could have learned little of the newer German treatment of religion. Palfrey's *Lowell Lectures* of 1839–40 wind up with mention of German infidelity and the recent state of opinion in Germany and France. By the term infidelity he excommunicates Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling. The last lecture mentions Constant, De Wette, and Schleiermacher whose school is said to have died with him. All these, according to Palfrey, are confused and deplorable writers. This was the voice of the older day and while the lectures were in progress J. F. Clarke was at work in Meadville on the translation of De Wette's *Theodore*. Dr. Stebbins belonged to the older day. His address at the Harvard Divinity School in 1852 must have been intended as a protest against the Transcendentalists. One finds no allusion to Parker, but in a lively letter of October 24, 1853, Parker pays his respects to Meadville and Harvard together: "I was over at Cambridge the other day, and looked in at the Divinity School, and saw several of the *bodies* which were waiting their turn. The operators were not in at the time, so I saw nothing of the *modus operandi*. The Egyptian embalmers took only seventy days, I think, to make a

mummy out of a dead man. Unitarian embalmers use three years in making a mummy out of live men. I think at Meadville they do it in less." Pity it is that this mordant critic could not have realized how vital the old thought could be with a teacher so full of vitality as Stebbins. Isolated from German currents, Dr. Stebbins found stimulus from the Andover theologians, Stuart and Park. When Park was attacked by Hodge of Princeton, Stebbins came to the rescue in *The Christian Examiner* (May, 1852). He eulogized the New England theology as the product of free minds uncoerced by synods and general assemblies, and he extolled the bold and reverent thinkers of the tradition to which Park belonged. The positive element in which he found himself in agreement with Park was the latter's distinction between the theology of the intellect and the theology of feeling. This was not an adoption of Schleiermacher's thought. It had to do only with modes of expression. Nevertheless, it was important as affecting the manner in which the Bible was to be read. Emotional expression, imaginative coloring of the substance of truth, was found native to the Psalms and the Apostle Paul. Having been educated in a period when the debate between Andover and Harvard theologians was the absorbing issue, Stebbins, as a systematic theologian, seems to have constructed his teaching in much the same argumentative form as Park but with a Unitarian difference in

the conclusions reached. But whatever the logical method or type of construction, the fruit of it may be estimated by a sermon of tremendous earnestness and power on the "Unreasonableness of Irreligion," found in *The Christian Repository* (Vol. I, p. 20).

Stebbins was naturally an energetic disputant for a Unitarian view of the being of God.[7] Jesus was the promised Messiah, accepted as a sufficient Saviour because God appointed and sent him. This meant more than appointment to an historical office as a teacher of truth. Christ was a Saviour, not merely through the historical influence of his gospel, but "as a present active agent in the affairs of the world." Here, Stebbins was a disciple of Paul. "When we reject the view that Christ is present, aiding his people, we lose one of the strongest bonds which bind us to him." In a sermon on "Christ, the Head of the Church," [8] he argues that a spiritual mode of existence is no barrier to such activity in the world, since spirit can influence spirit without the use of sensuous organs. Revelation, too, supports this faith: "We have an advocate with the Father; Lo, I am with you always." To Dr. Stebbins this was not a mere tenable idea but a vivid faith. It found noble expression in an address for the Lord's Supper: "He meets

[7] On Leonard Wood's Theology, *Christian Examiner*, July 1851. On the Trinity, *Christian Repository*, Vol. II, p. 683.

[8] *The Christian Examiner*, September 1853.

with us here, in holy communion around this table; not visibly, but as really as he did with his disciples in that upper room at the last supper. He is here, when we are met together, as he promised to be. As we eat this bread, as we drink of this cup, he will be with us. O, let us not think of the Saviour as far off. He will comfort us in our griefs. He will solace us in our bereavements. He will make our weakness, strength. He will make our ignorance, knowledge. He will make our sorrow, joy. He will make death, life evermore. Art thou sinking, my brother, in the abyss of trouble? He will bear thee up on his arm over the depths, and finally give thee to the companionship of angels, and of the Father." [9]

[9] *The Christian Repository*, Vol. I, p. 332.

CHAPTER III

PROFESSOR FREDERIC HUIDEKOPER

AT the outset the only professor in residence, beside the overworked president, was Frederic Huidekoper. We have already seen that the inception of the school was due to the willingness of this accomplished scholar to give gratuitous instruction by himself alone. The plan was broadened and the presidency given to Dr. Stebbins with a guarantee of support for a period of years from the American Unitarian Association; but the school could hardly have existed had not Professor Huidekoper given long years of laborious teaching without financial compensation, a devotion reinforced also by gifts and personal services on the part of his father, brothers and sisters. In 1850 when, on a pledge of ten thousand dollars from Harm Jan Huidekoper, Dr. Stebbins raised forty-two thousand more for the endowment, the editor of *The Christian Register*, in support of the appeal, made this fitting comment: "It would not be too much to say that this professor coins his whole being into offices of instruction, supervision and charity for the school and its individual members, that he is not only independent

of, but in various ways a constant contributor to its funds, and that metaphors drawn from the most tender relations of domestic life could alone adequately express his devotion to its interests." His remarkable private library was shared with all the school and ultimately bequeathed to it. It was a fine collection of ancient classics, early Christian Fathers and modern German theological works. The beautifully situated campus of the school was given by him, in 1850. Many a poor student was indebted to his generosity for gifts of books, and he exemplified the inclination of all his kindred to an abounding and gracious hospitality.

Mr. Huidekoper's two years of industrious travel and study in Europe were a rich experience which insured to his classes the highest type of university standards. Sailing in May, 1839, he spent the summer in Holland, then, after a leisurely journey in the Rhineland, studied in Geneva until March. After a month in Paris and another in Belgium, he entered the University of Leipsic, living in the family of Fluegel, author of the standard German-English dictionary. After further summer travel in Bohemia and Austria, he spent the rest of his time in the University of Berlin. He made himself master of French and German, worked intensively on Greek, Roman and German history as well as in biblical studies. He was also constantly occupied with geological research. He enjoyed social con-

tact with eminent men like Cousin, De Wette, Hundeshagen, Picot of Geneva, Neander, and the long and interesting letters written home show him an alert and systematic observer of the ways of life in church and state, in educational and economic aspects, and especially in philanthropic activities. He came home with the well considered desire to be a minister-at-large rather than a pastor, and with this in view completed his theological study in Harvard.

At the first his teaching embraced Hermeneutics, New Testament, Interpretation and Literature, Ecclesiastical History, but he also formed classes in Greek, Latin and German apart from the required course. Students were eager for culture, and in 1846 he had thirteen in his voluntary class in Greek. When, in 1849, Professor Folsom was added to the staff, Mr. Huidekoper relinquished to him Hermeneutics and New Testament Exegesis. For twenty years beginning with 1857, he was responsible only for Church History. It is to be remembered that from his youth he was afflicted with a malady of the eyes which ultimately ended in total blindness and that throughout the years of sight he was obliged to restrict the use of his eyes to very short periods. It is therefore amazing to see from his published works what an extraordinary erudition he acquired in the field of ancient history and the life of the early Church. In 1854 appeared his first work, *The Belief of the First*

Three Centuries concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld. The early Christian literature had shown him that, in the second and third centuries, *The Mission to the Underworld* engaged a degree of interest which one would not surmise from the accounts by modern historians. These authors passed over the subject because it had lost significance to the modern believer. Professor Huidekoper produced a monograph on the subject full of minute knowledge, and, while he could not expect popular interest in his work, he believed that it was important as supporting the credibility of the gospels. At the time, some European scholars were rashly advocating very late dates for the gospels and regarded these earliest accounts of Jesus as conditioned by the controversial interests of the second century. Mr. Huidekoper proved that the topic of the Mission to the Underworld had great vogue in the second century but was absent from the gospels. This served as an argument for the credibility of the gospel narratives. Adolf Harnack reviewed the work in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, February 3, 1877.

Huidekoper made another contribution to theological material by reprinting and editing an obscure British production of singular value. In a mass of waste paper he had found a pamphlet giving *Some Account of the Origin and Progress of Trinitarian Theology in the Second, Third and Succeeding Centuries.* This had been

published in Glasgow in 1836 by James Forest, dedicated to Rev. George Harris, the valiant organizer of the Scottish Unitarian Christian Association. Mr. Huidekoper justly recognized, in this pamphlet, a scholarly and important contribution to the history of Christian doctrine and republished it in an edition of seven hundred copies at the Theological Press, Meadville, Pennsylvania, 1853. This edition being quickly exhausted, he had it published again three years later by Crosby, Nichols & Co., of Boston, and in 1867, it had reached a fourth edition.

Huidekoper's remarkable resources of knowledge and the peculiarities of his historical treatment are fully shown in his largest work, *Judaism at Rome,* published in 1870. Three years earlier Emil Schuerer had treated this subject in the first edition of what became a monumental *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ.* Mr. Huidekoper had not seen this. His own study had an independent origin. Since his library did not contain Schuerer's work, nor the school library until after his death, it is probable that he never saw it, and it is certain that he never read Schuerer's review of *Judaism at Rome* in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* in 1877 (pp. 163–5). He, therefore, missed the satisfaction of knowing the comment of that German prodigy of erudition: "Der Verfasser verfuegt ueber ein ausserordentlich reichhaltiges Material. Seine Belesenheit in den Kirchen-

vaetern und in den griechischen und roemischen Schriftstellern ist staunenswerth." Schuerer recognizes not only the vast knowledge but also the substantial value of Huidekoper's work as a corrective of the older view that the Jews in Rome were a despised class, barely tolerated and of no influence. Huidekoper had successfully proved a great influence and had correctly explained it by the high appeal of Judaism through its union of ethics and religion. Schuerer justly considers that Huidekoper had been carried too far by enthusiasm for his thesis, often claiming Jewish influence or anti-Jewish movements where other eyes could find neither. The German reviewer is most surprised by Huidekoper's contention that Jewish influence originated the Stoics and the claim cannot be successfully argued in the form adopted by Huidekoper. Nevertheless, since that time, we have learned a good deal about the meeting of the Orient and the Greek world in currents of thought and religion, and both author and reviewer, if alive to-day, would be satisfied to say with Franz Cumont: "In a certain sense it may be said that Stoicism was a Semitic philosophy." The work remains as a marvel of industrious research, defective indeed in method, incautious in some of its judgments, and somewhat lacking in form for the general reader. But in its field it was a pioneer work.

Professor Huidekoper's remaining work was *The Indirect Testimony of History to the*

Genuineness of the Gospels (1879). This contains material for an argument but the argument itself is so indistinctly exhibited that many a reader fails to appreciate it and can find it in discussion of the book in *The Unitarian Review* more effective statement in Dr. J. H. Morrison's (December, 1879). It attacks the view that the gospels came to their present shape in the early or middle portion of the second century and that they are much colored by the second century controversial interests of late editors of early material. For the Synoptic Gospels at least, time has confirmed the argument and the work can still furnish data for such a discussion.

With whatever defect in literary exposition, in minute and exhaustive research, Huidekoper was a formidable scholar. It is, indeed, possible to surmise that the learning dispensed to the class in Church History was beyond the capacity of the students. The surmise is occasioned simply by the syllabus which he printed for his course on the first three centuries with detailed references to the best literature in German, French, and English. Probably no course given in a German University was ever so detailed, or involved such consultation of the literature. Certainly in American class rooms of to-day none but advanced students could meet the demands of this syllabus. The modern evolutionary view has made the construction of historical data easier and more interesting and changed the

scale of importance in details. His *forte* was not construction but detail. A critic once said that he knew his subject all to pieces.

An urbane, patrician gentleman, a warm-hearted philanthropist, an erudite, exact scholar, a serene, practical Christian. In the address at his funeral, May 19, 1892, Professor Barber said of him: "He was a Christian believer because the words and life of Jesus Christ joined the witness of history and conscience to prove a surprising revelation of God. He belonged to the historical and rational rather than to the mystical or the naturalistic schools of religious thought. . . . He wanted positive and definite views in religion as elsewhere, and found it hard to tolerate the tentative and negative temper any more than the transcendental or mystical temper. Christianity was to him divine sanction, common sense and practical good living." Yet, as Professor Barber also remarked, he believed in independent thinking. Independent judgment, even something of speculative daring belongs to his combinations and interpretation of historical data, and at a time when modern critical views had hardly found utterance in American schools, he had abandoned belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and accepted the analysis of Genesis into Jahvist and Elohist sources. In 1857, he printed such an analysis in parallel columns for Genesis I–XI, and in 1859, published this in pamphlet form. Conservative

as he was in regard to the claim of revelation for Christianity, he made a notable sacrifice for the principle of freedom of inquiry. By the original charter of the school, no test of dogmatic belief could be required of its members except a belief in "the divine origin of Christianity." When the phrase was coined the meaning, undoubtedly, was an origin attested as divine by supernatural miracles. When one or two doubts were expressed by students, the faculty, September 18, 1854, adopted a rule which would have excluded any one venturing to question an origin so evidenced as divine. From this action, Professor Huidekoper dissented, though himself tenacious of the old doctrinal position. Unable to secure a relaxation of this rigor and unwilling to be involved in differences with the president, he resigned his teaching office. This would be the sacrifice of the career which he had chosen. He retired, however, without controversy or complaint. After the departure of President Stebbins in the summer of 1856, the rule was canceled, October 3, and Mr. Huidekoper accepted re-election to his teaching office.

CHAPTER IV

NATHANIEL SMITH FOLSOM

IN favoring the strict application of the only permissible doctrinal test, the president was largely influenced by his desire for close fraternal relations with the Christian Connection, relations which at the time were weakening. In that creedless body there was an unwritten creed. Even earlier, the school policy in regard to those relations had led to divergent views between Stebbins and Huidekoper. Beginning with 1845, Elder Millard as a representative of the Christian Connection held the office of visiting lecturer, and though the Christians contributed nothing to the meagre treasury of the school, the president wished to cement the union with them by adding a resident professor from their ranks.[1] Mr. Huidekoper deemed this measure to involve a loss of the Unitarian freedom of the institution and a lower standard of scholarship, and he succeeded in securing another arrangement. In June 1849, the Reverend Nathaniel Smith Folsom was chosen as professor of New Testament and, for the relief of the overburdened president,

[1] *Records of the Board of Instruction*, June 21, 1849.

to serve as pastor of the Unitarian church.[2]

The data of Mr. Folsom's career are found in the *Congregational Year Book* for 1891 and less exactly, in Lamb's *Biographical Dictionary*. The only intimate description and characterization of him is in the obituary notice by President A. A. Livermore in *The Christian Register* for January 29, 1891. In 1842, while serving the Unitarian church of Haverhill, Massachusetts, Dr. Folsom had published a critical and historical interpretation of the Book of Daniel. He wrote it when there was wide-spread interest in the Millerite prophecy of the world's end and dawn of the millennium in 1843. The book was intended to combat that delusion by a proper exegesis of Scripture. The Millerite delusion had already disintegrated many churches of the Christian Connection in New England, but in those circles there was still anxious interest in predictions of Advent. We may surmise that this was, at least, one ground for the choice of Dr. Folsom. Quite apart from this it was a natural and wise selection. The School was established by men, who, little affected by the new ferment of Transcendentalism, were devoted to conscientious study of Scripture. To such men, the conscientious Dr. Folsom was most congenial. Born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1806,

[2] Dr. Stebbins' resignation of the presidency, which he was persuaded to withdraw (June 1850), had no relation to this incident; cf. Joseph Allen, *History of The Worcester Association*, p. 380.

graduated from Dartmouth College in 1828 and from the Andover Theological School in 1831, he had received Presbyterian ordination, served as a home missionary in Georgia, 1831–1832, as acting pastor in Cleveland, 1832–1833, as a teacher in Lane Seminary, 1833, and as professor of biblical literature in Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio, 1834–1836. He left this teaching career to enter the Congregational ministry and was pastor in Francestown, New Hampshire, 1836–1838, and then in Providence, Rhode Island, 1838–1840. In Providence he became uncertain about the scriptural basis of the doctrine of the Trinity, and after a searching examination of the matter, felt constrained in conscience to resign his charge. To explain his act he published a pamphlet on the *Scriptural Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit in their Relation to God, the Father.* This calm and gentle work of exegesis has only a simple and modest allusion to its effect on his personal fortunes. For the next seven years, he served the Unitarian church in Haverhill, and then removed to Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was minister-at-large. From August 1847, to December 1848, he acted also as editor of *The Christian Register.* In Meadville he combined the pastorate of the church with his teaching office for two years, but in June 1851 was asked to devote all his time to the school. Since the teachers were elected on five year periods,

his repeated appointments, 1853, 1858, indicate that he was wholly acceptable in his office. Nevertheless, again he arrived at some exegetical conclusion which disturbed his sensitive conscience as occupant of a Unitarian office, though the school charter gave full freedom to any such conclusion, and in June 1861, he resigned. Nothing could be more delicately considerate to others than this. Thereafter he had no fixed charge. For a few years he preached occasionally in orthodox pulpits, but once more he viewed the nicety of his doctrine as Unitarian rather than orthodox. These delicate discriminations of thought were made and propounded with such serenity that no one was alienated from him. Dying November 10, 1890, he was commemorated as an orthodox minister in the *Congregational Year Book* and as a Unitarian in the columns of *The Christian Register*. Dr. Livermore says of him: "Dr. Folsom was of a delicate and finely organized constitution, half masculine and half feminine, and keenly alive to all impressions on mind and body. His mild, blue eyes, tall, straight form, spare figure, reminded one of some pictures of the Master, with whose spirit he was deeply imbued; for his character was essentially of the unworldly and saint-like type, living and breathing in the atmosphere of purity, meekness, sympathy and divine trust. He was thus peculiarly fitted, not only by his faithful and painstaking learning, but by his temper of

soul, to interpret the deep things of the Gospels. For they were level and congenial to the habitual frame of his own spirit. His inexorable conscientiousness was almost morbid, in his anxiety to be true to his latest convictions, irrespective of well or ill repute from others. This quality went so far as to lead one, on a superficial glance, to judge him as vacillating in his opinions, when, in reality, it was the effort to be exactly faithful to the last and best conclusions at which he could arrive."

Illustrations of Dr. Folsom's spirit and theological attitude may be found in articles which he contributed to the brief-lived *Christian Repository* in 1852 and 1853.[3] One of these studies dealt with the Apostle Paul's declaration of unconditioned divine sovereignty: "therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy." Our student of Revelation considers the hard saying with devout humility: "If we shall not reach the exact point of view from which the apostle looked at the divine sovereignty, we may be able to see, so far as we do see, along the same line of view with him. Spiritual things may appear to us somewhat as they did to him, although we may not behold them with the same distinctness and fullness, nor grasp with the same comprehensiveness all their relations. We may look at the same object in the heavens, and use the same

[3] Vol. I, 106 On Prayer. Vol. II, 468 The Spirits in Prison. Vol. II, 513 On I Peter 3, 8–4, 6. Vol. II, 550 On Divine Sovereignty.

telescope, but our object glass is of far less power than his, nor do we live in the same pure atmosphere of thought and feeling." With such meek dependence on the oracles of God, the scrupulous student makes a patient effort to attain light and comprehension in the divinely given light. Unfettered by traditional exegesis whether Calvinist or Arminian, he must find a view which will unite the scriptural truths of divine sovereignty and divine goodness and he concludes that the choice of men to salvation is conditional. "The whole scope of Paul's argument goes to show that the Jews on the one hand were rejected, and the Gentiles on the other were accepted, on the ground that the one rejected, and the other accepted, faith in God as the elemental germ and effective principle of true righteousness."

Dr. Folsom drew his knowledge of church history from the translations of Mosheim and Neander, but he had given no attention to modern movements in Bible study in Germany, nor had he felt the breath of the new winds of thought that in New England were carrying younger men on new uncharted seas. But in his field the old order ended with him. On his resignation in 1861, the Trustees elected Frederick Frothingham to the chair—a noble choice—and when Mr. Frothingham declined, established a new era by the election of Professor George L. Cary. The chief fruit of Dr. Folsom's studies was

his independent translation of the *Four Gospels* with critical and expository notes. Published in 1869, it was dedicated "to my former colleagues and pupils of the Meadville Theological School." His account of the manuscripts and variant readings show a painstaking, precise detail of learning in textual criticism which we hope was not the daily food of his students in class. The translation and notes are typical of this man of "patient, careful and appreciating eye." Andrew P. Peabody endorsed it as a closer and more faithful representation of the Gospels than had ever before been put into the hands of English readers.

CHAPTER V

THE NON-RESIDENT LECTURERS

David Millard

George W. Hosmer

ADDITIONAL instruction was furnished by two non-resident lecturers who came annually for a limited number of weeks. It has already been mentioned that David Millard of the Christian Connection had very early engaged in anti-trinitarian controversy in communities quite out of relation to the crisis of division in New England Congregationalism. Elder Millard was a self-taught man without academic training, but he had studied the literature of theology intelligently and by his mastery of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* could hold his own creditably in learned discussion. Certainly his exegetical and controversial work, *The True Messiah*, shows an informed mind. He was a popular hortatory preacher in the revival seasons of the Christian Connection, and he had a certain crude talent in writing verse for the expression of religious feeling. In 1841, he ventured on a year of travel in the Levant to gratify an im-

agination excited in boyhood by accounts of the monumental remains of civilization in Egypt, by picturesque descriptions of caravans crossing Arabian deserts, and by scriptural allusions to scenes of Palestine. In 1843, he published his *Journal of Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea* and *The Holy Land*. This readable aid for students of the Bible gave the author a valued reputation. It was learning thus acquired by reading and vivified by experiences of travel, which he dispensed in Meadville as a lecturer on "Biblical Antiquities and Sacred Geography." His part in the discussions, carried on in *The Christian Palladium*, shows that he thoroughly appreciated the need for ministers of the full programme of study afforded in the best schools of the time. His lectureship in Meadville continued until 1866.

George Washington Hosmer

Concerning Dr. Hosmer it would be a vain thing to add to what has already been published. He is adequately known and appreciated by means of the memorial prepared by his family (1882), and the excellent sketch of his career contributed by Professor Barber in *Heralds of the Liberal Faith*, and so far as his connection with Meadville is concerned, by Dr. Barber's article on "Dr. Hosmer in Meadville" in *The Unitarian Review* for December, 1881. It need only be emphasized that he was one of the chief

agents for the extension of the culture and spiritual tradition of New England to what was once a frontier West. Born and reared in Concord, trained in Harvard College and the Harvard Divinity School, experienced for six years in a New England pastorate in Northfield, he came in 1836 to a creative service in Buffalo. There for thirty years he was a leading factor in the development of the higher civilization of this important center of life, and, as has already been shown, he was an indispensable aid in the creation of the school in Meadville. Leaving Buffalo in 1866, he wrestled for seven years with the problems of the presidency of Antioch College, and resigning this office in 1873 at the age of seventy, began again a highly successful ministry in Channing Church, Newton, Massachusetts, which lasted to his death in 1881. From 1844 to 1880 he came annually to Meadville in the early summer to instruct the students in all that concerned the practical conduct of a parish. He was ideally fitted to convey and to inspire the supreme wisdom required for the public and private ministrations of religion and he profoundly and permanently affected the spirit of the school and the activities of its graduates. In the career of Professor Barber, who absorbed his wisdom and his spirit and could more fittingly than any other record his service to Meadville, we have the continuance of this high influence.

CHAPTER VI

THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE CHRISTIAN CONNECTION

SYMPATHY between the Christians and the Unitarians was not destined to result in union or even unison. From the outset there were some of the former group who hesitated over the merger of interests in a common school for ministerial preparation. In the spring of 1845, *The Christian Herald*, the New England organ of the Christians, printed articles and editorials showing fear of "sectarian" influence from the Unitarians through the Meadville school. *The Herald* took alarm at utterances made in the May meeting of the Unitarians in Boston where Rev. Arthur Fuller of Belvedere, Illinois, claimed that a thorough acquaintance would soon bring the two denominations into a strict union of faith. He had joined the Christian Conference as a Unitarian minister without any change of views. "I was received upon the broad basis of Christian liberty, the Bible as the only creed, character, the sole test of fellowship." [1] The suggestion of a strict union of faith disturbed *The Christian Herald*. Even

[1] *20th Report of the American Unitarian Association.*

more alarm was excited by Dr. Bellows, who had said: "The Christian denomination with its thousand ministers, almost identical in opinion with us, if we will take charge of their theological education, will become one with ourselves. It is in this view that the school at Meadville is of the greatest interest. Its influence in the Christian Connection will be beyond estimate." These well intentioned words were read with some sensitiveness. Even Elder John Ross warned the Unitarians that the Christians were not ready to be swallowed alive.[2] Elder Jesse Church, one of the visiting committee of the school, rebuked these fears.[3] The Christians, he urged, must have intelligent ministers, yet they were unable to maintain a school of their own. The influence of Meadville thus far was decidedly favorable to the interests of his denomination, and under its present direction would continue to be such. From *The Christian World*, *The Palladium* reprinted, August 6, 1845, the conciliatory words of James Freeman Clarke: "We would strengthen the Christians, not weaken them. If we can afford to their young ministers the means of studying and making themselves more useful ministers of Christ, that is all we wish. We do not wish them to join our body, or take our name. They have a better name than ours, already. I would that we joined

[2] *The Christian Palladium*, July 9, 1845.
[3] Ibid. July 23, 1845.

them, and took their name, rather than that they should join us, and take ours. Nor do we suppose that we have nothing to learn from them. They can give as well as receive. We can get good from them and they from us." Elder Oliver Barr, editor of *The Palladium*, in the issue of August 20, generously praised the practical co-operation of the two groups in the West, where Conant and Fuller, Unitarian ministers, were also members of the Christian Conference of Northern Illinois and Wisconsin, where, too, Elder Walworth's missionary work was aided by the treasury of the American Unitarian Association.

We are thus considering one of the perplexing might-have-beens of history. The situation seemed to give an opportunity for the liberalism of the old first parishes of New England to escape from the sterilizing restriction to a social class and by gradual fusion with a zealous missionary movement widely spread among the plain people in the West and South, to become a democratic force. Some good men hoped for a real union. The ideal of a union of all Christians on the simple basis of the Bible as religious guide with toleration of divergent doctrinal interpretations of the Bible, prompted the Pennsylvania Christian Conference, at its annual meeting in 1844, to charge Elder J. J. Harvey to open correspondence with bodies professing this basis of organization. It was an auspicious

date, the year of the opening of the Meadville Theological School. On April 29, 1845, Harvey wrote to Campbell, of the Disciples of Christ, to John Winebrenner, of the Church of God, and to Orville Dewey, of the Unitarians. Winebrenner and Campbell made no reply, while Dr. Dewey, on May 8, answered in most cordial terms: "I have long felt that there ought to be some visible and recognized union between your denomination and ours. I have always looked on the rise of the Christian body in this country as one of the most interesting events in the whole range of ecclesiastical history. With me it is second only to the Reformation itself. A protest rising up from the body of the people against religious domination, a demand for perfect freedom, and a determination to acknowledge no master but Christ, no name but that of Christ; and this movement, while resulting, of course, in considerable diversity of opinion, yet resolving itself into the form of Christian Unitarianism—this is one of the greatest marvels and promises of the age. I am afraid, my dear Sir, that your Conference, admirable as its design and spirit are, will not be able to bring about the desired union with any body but our own." [4] In that month of May, Dr. Dewey laid the matter before the American Unitarian Association, and the Berry Street Conference of ministers voted a sympathetic greeting to the

[4] *The Christian Palladium*, March 4, August 26, 1846.

Christian denomination which gladdened the heart of Elder Harvey.

Encouraged by this, the Pennsylvania Christian Conference at Fishing Creek, August 28, delegated Elders William Lane and J. J. Harvey to attend the next session of the Berry Street Conference, "to promote still further our acquaintance with the Unitarians, and establish more fully and permanently between them and us, that Christian fellowship which should exist among all followers of Jesus." [5] In the following May, the messengers spent ten days in the Unitarian Mecca. They were plainly a little timid about appearing in a circle of rich and intellectual people. Good Brother Harvey was happy in finding them more pious than reported and without "that proud and artistocratic air which the affluent sometimes exhibit." He urged a proper union with them by which both would be benefited.[6] It may be surmised that not everyone in these May meetings could gauge the possibilities latent in the visit of these messengers as Dr. Dewey had been able to do.

But a notable step toward fraternity had already been taken in Meadville where the Unitarian church, in September, 1845, opened its friendly door to the session of the Erie Christian Conference. This was, said Elder Church, the first time that another denomination had in-

[5] *The Christian Palladium*, October 1, 1845; March 4, 1846.
[6] Ibid. August 6, 1846.

vited the Christians to hold their conference with them. There were present representatives of thirty-five churches, fifteen of them being ministers. A discourse by Elder Marvin delighted Dr. Stebbins by the warm friendship expressed for the school, and the exhibition of religious views reached with but little knowledge of Unitarian publications. A letter from Dr. Hosmer of Buffalo moved the hearers to tears. At the close of the session, each of the fifteen ministers received the six-volume edition of Channing's works as a gift of the Meadville congregation. Dr. Stebbins was so affected by the emotion displayed by the conference that he could hardly speak. A hearty endorsement of the young school was here voted.[7] We cannot fail to recognize here one of those high moments of mystical fervor in fraternal spirit which are more frequent in socialist meetings than in church assemblies. A few days later Elder Oliver Barr visited the school and in his issue of *The Palladium*, October 15, expressed his satisfaction and confidence. The rapprochement was further aided by an article in *The Palladium*, November 15, in which H. Simonton of New York, reporting the proceedings of the Unitarian Convention in the Church of the Messiah, rejoices at the beginning of a union of spirit and action between the two groups. He is pleased at the desires there ex-

[7] *The Christian Palladium*, October 15, 1845. Report of Stebbins in *The Christian Register*, October 11, 1845.

pressed to equal the Christians in bringing truth home to the hearts and lives of men. The utterances of certain speakers on the new birth, or on full consecration of the heart, seemed to be the same blessed truth for which the Christians had always contended.

But denominational groups are not founded solely on common convictions concerning the authority for faith and the content of faith. In American life many other factors have been involved: race, language, social status. In the eighteenth century the Separates did not abandon the old parishes on strictly theological grounds. In the churches of the "Standing Order" the people sat in an order of social gradation and the pews might be family property. The proposal to enlarge one fine old First Church in 1774 stipulated that in the event of more subscribers than could be accommodated, those should be admitted first "who stand highest on the Precinct role of Valuation for their own estates." But the Great Awakening wakened social discontent as well as religious fervor. The clergyman, college bred, professionally trained, supported by taxation, something of a magnate in public affairs, had the aristocratic bearing of the superior class. He sought to prevent the intrusion into his parish of unlearned exhorters produced by the great revival, itinerants commissioned only by a vivid religious experience and indeed prejudiced against the restraint of

culture on emotion. The socially lower elements in the parish preferred the excitement of revival appeals to the aridity of more conventional sermons and encouraged the lay exhorter when he claimed a divine right by calling of the Spirit to speak to human souls. In after times, the Congregational churches made concession of this liberty of prophesying by the institution of the weekly prayer meeting, but in the eighteenth century the issue caused secessions from the church. The issue was clearly expressed by the Separate Church in Mansfield, Connecticut: "That every brother that is qualified by God for the same, has a right to preach according to the measure of faith, and that the essential qualification for preaching is wrought by the Spirit of God; and that the knowledge of tongues and liberal sciences is not absolutely necessary." After the Revolution there was a fresh emergence of such evangelists, not clergymen but tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, farmers, especially on the new frontier of New England, the areas newly opened to tillage in Vermont and New Hampshire. Unlike the ancient towns these backwood neighborhoods did not begin with an established church, and often had no schools. Such ministers as came to them were chiefly unlearned Baptists. The independent frontiersman who got religion and by that very first-hand experience an evangelist's mission as well, did not consult the tradition of the learned. In his Bible

he read no formulated logical system of theology but the messages that wakened religious consciousness and led to consecration of life. Whether by inheritance of an older antipathy or by an antagonism roused by new disparagement from the clergy, these evangelists were anti-clericals. They refused the name clergyman, the title reverend; they wore no clerical black but only the garb suited to the trade by which, too often, they must win their bread when on the Lord's journey. Were we to judge by their publication, *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*, the oldest religious journal in America, they were passionate followers of Jefferson and tended to see in the clergy the foes of republicanism. The psychology of the social situation may be illustrated by two quotations. One is from the autobiography of Elias Smith. Old preachers warned him "that when I saw a man dressed in *black*, called *reverend*; reading his notes; taking a salary; taking property from others by force; and despising such as traveled and preached, that such were the Devil's ministers and ought to be avoided. This I believed and shunned them." The other quotation is from the diary of Parson Bentley of Salem East Parish, January 18, 1807. It relates to the activity of Elias Smith in Salem: "It is necessary to check this uncharitable and ignorant sect which multiplies its lay preachers among us."

In the more western areas where all were

pioneers together, these antagonisms were not so evident. Social equality had fewer hindrances and occupations were not stereotyped. Nevertheless both East and West, leaders among the Christians had, as we have seen, concluded that the untrained itinerant, however effective in gathering a church, had not resources sufficient to build it into a permanent institution. If all had been of the frame of mind of Clough, Marvin, Church, Badger, Millard, great results might have come from the coöperation begun in Meadville. But there were those who still dreaded the rise of a ministerial class whose pride of learning might limit the Spirit's authorizations. Elder Nason of Albion, Maine, expressed distrust of paint and varnish in place of the native beauty of the Gospel and held that the best education was shown in the ability to convert souls.[8] The claim that "we can understand the Bible by daily consulting its Author as to its meaning" was meant as a protest against a learned caste.[9] Elder Henry Grew was afraid of all theological schools, and Elder Stowe could only bring himself to favor a "Manual Labor Theological School";[10] others desired a simple Bible School to train revivalists rather than pastors.[11]

On the other hand Elder David Millard in-

[8] *The Christian Palladium*, September 3, 1845.
[9] Ibid. Vol. XVI, p. 45.
[10] Ibid. Vol. XVIII, pp. 97, 228, 417.
[11] Ibid. Vol. XXI, pp. 661, 667, 690, 704; Vol. XXII, pp. 50, 53.

sisted on the full Meadville curriculum. He was not alone. From March 18 to August 26, 1846, a series of articles by Elder Charles Morgridge of New Bedford expounded the words of Hosea: "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge. By reason of that lack, many churches have gone out of existence, while through zeal for sacred learning, other denominations have grown strong." He laments the scorn for the ignorant Christians which all denominations except the Unitarians felt. This stirred *The Christian Herald* to call Morgridge an enemy, a slanderer, a foul tool, and *The Palladium*, June 3, 1846, quotes an opinion that the education of ministers would mean death to revivals.

This lack of unanimity, and the lack of financial resources on their part, thus prevented the Christians from entering into full partnership in the enterprise of the Meadville school. Evidently President Stebbins was eager for their full support, financial and moral, and even without their financial aid, he was generously disposed to add to the Christian representation on the teaching staff at Unitarian expense. He cultivated friendly relations with Christian churches, became a member of the Western Reserve Conference and in 1855, was elected president of the sessions of the General Convention of Christians in Cincinnati. Rev. J. Pressley Barrett says of him: "In theological views and evangelical spirit, he was in closer harmony with us than

with the large body of Unitarians themselves." [12] As has been said, his effort, in 1849, to engage a resident professor from the Christian body met with obstacles and with the election of Professor Folsom the Christian students were in the situation of receiving nearly all their instruction from Unitarians. The discontent of those Elders who desired a school of their own, a school of narrower range, inevitably resulted in public criticism of Meadville.

The first note of complaint did not relate to the school, but to utterances on the part of Ezra Stiles Gannett and James Freeman Clarke, construed as indicating a dangerous radicalism. *The Watchman*, the Baptist periodical in Boston, attacked them for admitting contradictions in the Bible and for weakening the doctrine of inspiration. This was reprinted in *The Christian Palladium* for August 21, 1847. President Stebbins promptly replied, September 4, that the Baptist attack was simply a criticism borrowed from the Unitarian editor of *The Christian Register*. Unitarians were, therefore, not collectively responsible for the views in question. An editorial in *The Palladium*, however, expressed an anxious desire that Unitarians "will be able to show themselves clear in this matter." Dr. Stebbins returned to the subject, October 16, remarking on the inconsistency of orthodox circles in New England: "They exclude Unitarians, but

[12] *The Centennial of Religious Journalism, Second Edition*, p. 421.

they tolerate radical utterances from their own leaders, as for example, from Stuart, of Andover, who had said that 'apostles were not uniformly and always guided by an infallible Spirit of inspiration' and had spoken of 'mistakes and errors of the Apostles.' "

But now, suspicion fell directly on the Meadville school. Elder Stowe, opposed to a conventional theological education, alarmed the readers of *The Palladium*, January 1, 1848, by an account of the effect of Unitarian teaching on student minds. One student thinks that possibly miracles did not happen. Another doubts the second coming of Christ and holds that Matthew and Luke contradict one another in their stories of the infancy of Christ. Another asserts that prophecies applied to Christ by the New Testament did not originally apply to him. Still another does not believe in resurrection. An editorial of a fortnight later argues that if the Meadville professors are guilty of such teaching, the Christians can give no encouragement to the school. Thereupon, January 22, 1848, William A. Fuller, a student of the school, believing that Stowe's revelations were traceable to a conversation with himself, repudiated these charges, save as to the fact that he finds discrepancies in the opening chapters of Matthew and Luke and cannot agree with Elder Stowe as to the precise manner of the second advent. Three other students wrote denying such views as had been al-

leged, and a graduate, a Christian minister, added his denial of the currency of these views or the fact of their advocacy by teachers. Elder Millard also demanded the names of the students accused, but Stowe repeatedly refused to furnish them. An editorial, April 1, insists that the facts be determined: what is taught in Meadville about inspiration, about the coming of the Son of Man, or as to Jesus speaking at times under excitement, and mistakes of the Apostles concerning advent and resurrection of the dead. It was due to these provocations that Elder Millard was roused, in self-defence, to maintain the literal second coming of Christ. The only additional echo of the episode was a communication from Elder James Elliott, September 1, 1849, to the effect that students write him of their distaste for the idea that the Apostles were not inspired.

The episode, or at least its date, marks a turning point in the history of the Christian Connection. The year 1849 may be said to begin a new period. Originally, its leaders had the fair dream of healing all the sectarian divisions of Christianity by rallying all to union on the simple basis of Scripture. Whoever, in his discipleship to Jesus, had felt the divine grace and manifested newness of life was welcomed to the fellowship whether he held one set of speculative views of God and Christ, or another. For catholicity in the spiritual life there must be individ-

ual freedom in understanding the word of God. This very principle of undogmatic freedom excluded them from all but Unitarian friendship and their rank and file now shrank from that friendship. The world's ancient and persistent fear of the play of reason as inimical to the religious consciousness, the dread of undefined future possibilities of modernism, the factor of social difference, all these ponderable or imponderable matters were to make them become a really separate and differentiated body in spite of their aversion to sectarianism. They disliked the name the Unitarians wore and their revival methods did not go well with the sober conventions of the Unitarian churches. Inevitably, a very real denominational consciousness developed. This was related to the mysterious subsidence of fervor which marked the middle of the century. *The Christian Herald*, their New England organ, opened a discussion of the coldness of feeling and spiritual inertia, and it was increasingly urged that the cause of decline was Latitudinarianism, the lack of precision and uniformity in faith and practice. The remedy was the frank acceptance of a denominational organization on what seemed to some idealists, a sectarian basis.

In this situation, the distrust already felt about the school in Meadville tended to become active opposition. Elder Elliott proposed a Christian professorship in Oberlin. Oliver Barr and John

Ross began a campaign for a school in Ohio, though shortly before his death in a railroad accident, Barr seems to have decided that the only practicable plan was to fuse his proposed Bible School with the Meadville School with an endowment raised from the Christian churches. This may explain a statement by Dr. Stebbins in *The Palladium* for August 6, 1853: "I hope soon to hail another Professor from our Christian friends, so that the School may meet the expectations of its founders, and their prayers, in its behalf, be fully answered." It is to be noted that the hostility of Barr and Stowe to the continuance of the Meadville relationship was related to the contents of *The Christian Repository*, the monthly in which the Christians and the Meadville professors collaborated, and that periodical died with the year 1852.

It is not necessary to trace in detail the withdrawal of Christian students from Meadville. The administration of the school never abandoned its policy of hospitable welcome and generous financial aid to such members. Millard continued as lecturer to 1866, and two years before his retirement, another representative of his communion was made a non-resident professor of the "Department of Christian Life and Experience." This was the very able Austin Craig who continued in this office until 1869 when he became president of the Christian Biblical Institute at Eddytown, New York, which, three

years later, was removed to Standfordville. These later stages of the effort to have a denominational school for the Christian Connection can be adequately understood from the interesting *Life and Letters of Austin Craig* by W. S. Harwood.

CHAPTER VII

PRESIDENT OLIVER STEARNS

WITH the advent of Oliver Stearns to the presidency of the school, a new era opened. It meant new text books: Ernesti on *Interpretation* and the *Ethics* of Whately and Jouffroy, changes more significant then, than obvious now. But the great change was in the quality of mind now shown in the teaching of the Old Testament and Systematic Theology. Rev. Oliver Stearns had graduated from Harvard College in 1826, second in his class, and had combined study in the Divinity School with the work of an instructor in mathematics in the college. He had served as pastor in Northampton and Hingham, Massachusetts, beloved in these ministries for his simplicity of goodness and at least respected for his conscientious ardor in the anti-slavery cause. Apart from careful scholarship, clear apprehension, and moral fervor, the notable thing about him was a receptivity to new currents of thought. He was too early in college to have the benefit of Follen's instruction in German, by knowing which he might have achieved a more consistent system of theology, and he had access only to the transla-

tions of such moderate innovators as Tholuck, Lücke, Hagenbach, Müller. He had, however, adopted from sources nearer home principles which, if applied with rigorous consistency, might have made a more radical change in his thought. He had begun to grasp the meaning of divine immanence in nature and in man and he was probably the first academic theologian in America to announce a belief in evolution as a universal cosmic law. In this, he had precedence even of Herbert Spencer. In May 1856, he addressed a ministerial conference in Boston on "The Written Word and the Christian Consciousness" and the address was published in *The Christian Examiner* for September 1856. From Arnold Guyot's *Earth and Man* (1849) he took the formulation that "in the evolution of nature, the point of departure is a *homogeneous unit*, that the process is *diversification*, that the end is an *organic* or *harmonious* unit." Stearns applied this formula: "The history of our religion indicates the same law. It is the history of the evolution of Christianity; not only of Christian theology, but of that Christian life which gives theology the law of its form and the sap of its growth." The starting point of the development here in mind was from the objective life of Christ fixed in the New Testament. Christianity, which is man's consciousness of the meaning and implications of that life, is an evolution from a chaos of mere latency through diversifications,

to the goal of a visible harmonic unity of truth. We must note, also, that this progressive development is not a mere human process. The divine is immanent in it: "When the theologian makes his summary of the truth, and forms his theory of its operation on the heart, he must take account of the facts of spiritual experience presented in this evolution of the divine life through human nature." There was nothing timid or conventional in the man who penned that last sentence. His adoption of an evolutionnary conception for Christian history was not a sudden affair. A discourse on "Peace through Conflict" in *The Monthly Religious Magazine*, in 1851, shows an earlier effort at a theory of historical development. Since then, the process had become intelligible to him through the formula of von Baer which he derived from the Lowell Institute lectures of Arnold Guyot.[1] The discourse of 1856 shows him in process of transition from old to new thought. He is adopting the evolutionary view in order to unite the old dependence on biblical revelation with the Transcendentalist reliance on present intuition,

[1] Probably Herbert Spencer was as yet an unknown name to him. From 1847 Spencer had been arguing in obscure articles an evolution in human customs and institutions, but not until his *Principles of Psychology* in 1855, did he use the terminology of von Baer, and then only in part. It was in writing this work that Spencer became aware that evolution so formulated was a cosmic law, and he tells us that his "first coherent expression" of it as a cosmic law was in the essay on "Progress" in *The Westminster Review* for April 1857.

and also to find a relative justification for the products of doctrinal development in the past. Apparently he had no knowledge of Newman's *Development of Christian Doctrine*. He was thinking for himself on his own line of thought. For him, revelation was summed up in the given life of Christ, in a man speaking by virtue of his perfect union with God and therefore divinely speaking and acting. But beside the Written Word there is another factor in the experience of revelation. It is the progressive Christian consciousness, the religious insight of man as it develops through the immanent action of the spirit of God. Religious consciousness, so advancing, finds itself in conflict with older erroneous interpretations of the great revelation and overcomes them, moving on to fresh problems and through them to expanding apprehensions of the truth of man's relation to God. No final infallibility is attained. There is only progress to a goal, and the conclusion is one of ardent faith that the immanent Spirit had brought the Unitarian circle to its point of difference from others for the sake of a still larger vision.

In the Divinity School Stearns had been a pupil of Andrews Norton, but, unlike his master, he accepted as true the fundamental position of Transcendentalism, "that God has endowed man, with all his weakness and want, with an inherent power of judging what is true and divine.

That faculty is Intuition." From Norton he retained a stress on revelation—but with a difference. He read his Gospels with the freedom of a Christian consciousness educated by eighteen centuries of experience through conflicts. A rational Christian, he says, "believes that God so dwells in Jesus as to render his words and acts an expression of God's will and feeling toward man; that these words and acts are reported with substantial accuracy; and yet that in some respects, unessential to the vital power of truth, the Evangelists may have erred as reporters; or the Apostles expressed opinions originating in a Jewish education, and not legitimately in Christian instruction. He distinguishes between the master and the pupils, the plenarily inspired Messiah and the measurably inspired disciples, who are not on a level with the Master."

On what basis then are such discriminations made? By his evolutionary account of truth as progressively realized through the tension between the general consciousness, in whose movement the divine life is immanent, and the biblical form of expression. Stearns must let the human soul decide by the use of its own powers, its own divinely guided powers. So, in the Harvard Divinity School address of July 19, 1853,[2] in which this discussion is found, he firmly maintains that "no authority can uphold that which has no rational basis in the rational constitution

[2] *The Christian Examiner,* September, 1853.

of man." If rational investigation leads to Naturalism, then Naturalism has a right to reign and will conquer the world's mind. Reason can not be restricted to the mere exegesis of a plenarily inspired Scripture. What proves plenary inspiration? What proves miracle? Something within each man, reason, consciousness, intuition. A power in the human soul instinctively judges that works in Scripture are the special works of a power and a person behind nature. Intuitive reason is the judge of revelation. Revelation, as already explained, had for its content the miracle of Christ's character. "But what," he asks in the address of 1856,[3] "what is it which pronounces Christ's character a miracle or divine? It is the soul or faith, directly, intuitively, apprehending the great whole,—the person, the action, the speech, the miracle,—and judging that whole to be of God." This he finds to be a kind of Rationalism which does not exclude the fact of supernatural communication. A perfect cosmos was *given* to man in order to educe from man the rational sciences required for its comprehension. So to man was *given* in Christ the perfect expression of the divine spirit in order to educe the faculty cognizant of divine things. But what, then, safeguards us against capricious individual interpretations of what is given? The safeguard against private aberrations of reason is "to seek truth in the light of the Holy Catholic Church,

[3] *The Christian Examiner*, September 1856, p. 179.

to study what Neander calls the Christian consciousness in the history of religious life, to enlarge spiritual want and purify judgment by searching the thoughts of saints, ancient and modern, and through fellowship with them, to seek a more thorough sympathy with Him who is the common life." These discourses are an extraordinarily interesting effort to present a *via media* between the astringent Biblicism of Andrews Norton and the wild, unhistoric and irresponsible intuitions of the Transcendentalists.

Dr. Stearns had an excellent teaching method which secured some activity of the student's mind on each topic in advance of his own discussion of it. A letter from Dr. H. H. Barber describes it: "His way was to give out certain leading questions on each topic, with many references. These we were expected to read and to prepare written answers to be read in class. After hearing some of these and remarking on them, he used to dictate for the remainder of the two hours, occasionally two hours and a half, which the exercise always occupied. I do not recall ever being bored, though sometimes pretty tired. The lectures seemed to us very able and convincing, full, often of intense ethical passion. The references were to various books and 'Bodies of Divinity,' also to articles in Reviews, especially *The Christian Examiner*."

By the fortunate preservation of Dr. Barber's note-books, it is possible to know exactly the

views advocated by Stearns in his course on Systematic Theology. There is obvious some inconsistency between his treatment and his acceptance of evolution as a cosmic law of progress. However, his adoption of the principle of development was not because of active concern with natural science but, as already seen, because he needed a theory of progress in the understanding of religion. It is not surprising that he failed to follow all the implications of this new and revolutionary principle. After he came to Meadville there was a change in the psychological climate. Geological science had prepared him and many another progressive minister to welcome some general theory of development in place of the six days of abrupt creation narrated in Genesis, but with the appearance, in 1859, of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species,* new and unacceptable meanings were associated with the term evolution. In current use, its meaning was narrowed to a special theory of fortuitous biological variations the fate of which was determined by the material environment. So understood, it seemed to conflict with theistic faith and, therefore, with the general world-view of Stearns who held that "God acts immediately in all the phenomena which take place and the material forces are nothing but the direct putting forth of his power." (Note-book II, 179.) For Stearns, as for many another, this monistic view did not exclude the possibility of moments of

intenser "creative" action. Some vague notion of miracle remained. Christ was a miracle. Special providences were indeed special, and we do not know enough of natural law to know whether a special interposition disturbs the uniformity of nature. (Book II, 178 f.) In reaction against the sheer fortuitousness of change argued from Darwin's hypothesis, Stearns sacrificed something of the uniformity of nature by stress on special creative acts. The appearance of every new species was a divine interposition. Nature showed such divine interpositions at various epochs. "I defy discussion on that point." (Book I, 5.) Clearly the terminology was unfortunate and darkened counsel. To-day it is possible to stress both uniformity of process and the emergence of real differences.

Cosmology, however, was not his theme. In the curriculum of the time, that theme belonged to natural theology while the topics and arguments of systematic theology, conforming still to the model of the older New England theology, dealt chiefly with the redemption of sinful man. He began with a brief exposition of the relation between revelation in the life of Christ and natural theology, and passed quickly to an examination of the value of Christ as revealer and mediator. The discriminations now sharply made by writers on New Testament theology were not yet familiar and Dr. Stearns had to wrestle painfully to bring Synoptic and Johan-

nine utterances into agreement. As to the prologue of the Fourth Gospel, he decides that John borrowed the term Logos from the Alexandrian Jewish School to subserve his own purpose, but in opposition to the tendencies of that school. Logos means, then, not a separate hypostasis, but God in the aspect of revealing power, in distinction from God in his hidden absoluteness of being. To the doctrine of the Trinity, Stearns would offer no objection if it could be justly inferred from the facts set forth in Scripture. (Book I, 58.) The doctrine, indeed, arose by historical necessity and has been the husk which wrapped and preserved a vital interest (Book I, 97 f). Like Paul of Samosata, Stearns defines the unity of the man Jesus with God as a unity of purpose and will, not numerical unity, but, going beyond the Adoptionist, he considers it a unity anomalous and not fully comprehensible (Book I, 108, 109). His conclusion is: "Christ as a person was not self-existent; but the power of the Self-existent One resided in Jesus Christ constitutionally, empowering him to work as God, while yet a distinct person from that self-existent person of the Father. In the sphere of his mediatorial work, the nature and power of God were and are in him, making his influence on human souls an immediate divine efficacy. This divine quality of his being is made his by the Father dwelling in him, and is an everlasting union."

The failure to be a consistent evolutionist appears in Stearns' operation with the ancient scheme of an Adam created righteous and subject to a fall by which human nature between Adam and Christ has been involved in a real though not a complete corruption. Here he presses the doctrine of heredity both lineal and social. There is a corresponding emphasis on regeneration and atonement through Christ. The New Testament idea of salvation or redemption is understood as a cleansing, a renewal effected by the truth, the love, the power of God revealed in all that Christ did and was. His suffering and death manifest God's interest of love toward man and God's holiness in contrast to human sin. Christ's suffering and death differ from that of other martyrs, not in mere degree but in kind, as being designed to work the redemption of human hearts and by effecting holiness in man to enable God to forgive human sin.

This was the type of theology taught by Stearns in his Meadville period, 1856–1863. In his subsequent career in the Harvard Divinity School, he advanced to a more critical historical reading of the Gospels by necessity of dealing with the agitating literature of Strauss, Renan, Colani. The fruit of this appears in his interesting discussion of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus in his contribution to the volume entitled *Christianity and Modern Thought* published in 1872.

The story of Stearns in Meadville is necessarily limited to his theological teaching. He led a secluded life. As the ever gentle Andrew P. Peabody says of him, "he was social but not given to society." Meadville remembers the scholar, the vigorous teacher always insistent on clear discriminating thought. "Next to the grace of God, gentlemen," he once exclaimed, "is the power of distinguishing things that differ."

CHAPTER VIII

PRESIDENT ABIEL ABBOT LIVERMORE

ON a December day in 1888, the writer of these memorials sat by the hearth fire of Dr. Livermore, the president of the Meadville Theological School. The interview concerned a personal matter and led to no discourse that could reveal the mind of the man, yet from that rather brief conversation one bore away a singular feeling of veneration and affection for this tranquil and benignant personality. The gentle gravity of his countenance and the penetrating eyes, beautiful in hue and alight with sympathy, betokened a human presence one with truth and goodness. Though there had been no intimacy in this conference, the visitor could not refrain from sending back at his long journey's end a rather ardent word of respectful homage. It was one of those encounters that are rare and delightful privileges and endure among life's best memories. Years later, it was a delight to read the words of John Trevor reporting his arrival in Meadville, June 27, 1878: "In the evening I called on the president of the college, Dr. Livermore, in whom I found the most perfect gentleman I can remember ever to have met. It was a

type of gentility quite new to me; and made me, for the first time, fully understand what is implied in that term. He was perfectly simple, perfectly natural, perfectly honest, perfectly kind; and I felt all this, and more, the moment he offered me his hand. There was an inward grace and beauty shining through the face and expressed in the demeanour of that man that I shall never forget. You felt that he must have been made just like that; and yet you felt, too, that he had had his sorrows and his difficulties and his disciplines, which had given him such perfect possession of himself, that the self was kept just in its right place. It was an art that concealed art." [1]

There were excellent reasons for the choice of Dr. Livermore to succeed Dr. Stearns. He had enjoyed the best advantages of education which the country afforded. He was born in Wilton, New Hampshire, in 1811, trained in Phillips Exeter Academy, graduated from Harvard College in 1833, and from the Divinity School in 1836. He had won distinction in the ministry and was esteemed as a man of open mind and tenacious loyalties. One of his classmates in the Divinity School was Theodore Parker and the divergent careers of these two men illustrate the tension of conflict by which the movement of liberal religion developed in

[1] John Trevor, *My Quest for God*, p. 128.

America. Looking back from the present hour, we can recognize that the conflict was less real than the disputants imagined, their temperamental attitudes and modes of expression obscuring considerable agreement as to the substance of religion in life and practice. These two men, for example, were both free spirits, agents in the creation of a great historic experiment—the creation of an undogmatic religious fellowship —yet in their arguments and appreciations they were destined to fall apart. In their student days they were alike in thought, reflecting what they were taught in the Cambridge Divinity School. While a student there, Parker held to the inspiration of Scripture, the miraculous attestation of the Christian revelation, and faith in Christ as the Son of God "conceived and born in a miraculous manner." [2] In Parker's case, these traditional definitions of the authority for faith melted away in a comprehension of religious history which has now become characteristic of the Unitarian movement as a whole. Dr. Livermore, on the other hand, probably always retained the form of expression cited from the young Parker, but the form was not for him a restricting barrier. When Parker, on a visit to Cincinnati in 1852, made a stir by his advanced views, Livermore answered indirectly by a sermon, November 14, on the "Divinity, Suffi-

[2] O. B. Frothingham, *Life of Parker*, p. 52 f.

ciency, and Perpetuity of the Christian Religion." This was printed by request in pamphlet form and was republished in 1854 in his volume of *Discourses.* In *The Christian Repository* (Vol. II, p. 479), Dr. Stebbins pronounced it a conclusive answer to Parker and a Christian vindication of the truth. Nevertheless, the reader of Livermore's *Discourses* can see that his stress on supernatural revelation is not without some assimilation, probably unconscious, of Parker's fundamental tenet of the permanent and universal religious consciousness as the source of convictions. We can discern a certain kinship with the developed Parker wherever the positive purport and spiritual substance of religion comes to expression without concern for the formal statement of logical authority. Although after student days he had little contact with his militant contemporary, Dr. Livermore cherished a gentle regard for him. When Parker's last illness and the suspension of his preaching became known, Livermore commented on his career in an editorial in *The Christian Inquirer*, January 29, 1859: "We need not say how widely, upon questions of Christian belief and Church methods, we differ from him. But we will say that we respect him greatly for the positive elements of religion that he has so boldly affirmed, and for his noble defence of the spiritual faculties of man, and the constancy and impartiality of the Providence of God, against the assaults both of

superstition and atheism. We sat with him at the Commons table in Cambridge many years ago, and in private life, we have found him alike kindly and instructive, so much so that the asperity not infrequent in his public discourses seems surprising; but might seem less so if his provocations were better known." These words gave no offense and were in any case balanced by acts of kindness. From Montreux, September 26, Parker wrote: "Many thanks for your kind letter last winter, and your two friendly visits in New York, and kindly words of farewell." [3] After these kindly words of farewell Parker wrote his *Experience as a Minister* and had a copy sent to his old classmate. "Of course," he wrote from Montreux, "it contains much you can never like, perhaps not even tolerate." Before this letter arrived, Livermore and many another had been greatly disturbed by Parker's last publication. Its bitter and drastic expressions concerning Unitarians stirred such resentment that when Moncure Conway, with the support of James Freeman Clarke, moved a resolution of sympathy with the stricken Parker with the expression of hope that he might resume his labors, a majority of the Harvard Alumni vetoed the motion lest such an expression might be construed as an endorsement of his views. It is regrettable that in an editorial, September

[3] Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, Vol. II, p. 362.

10, Livermore approved of this refusal, though there is magnanimity in his comment. Parker, he said, had treated Unitarianism "almost as impersonally as if he had never belonged to the sect. . . . Being so totally absorbed in his own thoughts, he could not enter into the feelings of his followers. . . . No man has a tenderer or truer heart for his friends, as none has a sharper and more sword-like pen of censure and condemnation for his enemies." In the meantime Parker himself in Montreaux was thinking of his asperities not without regret. In his very intimate letter ("I don't wish others to see what I have writ") he pleads that he never found fault with men because of their fidelity to their opinions diverse from his, but "I have had to fight a battle, Livermore, and a terrible one, too; and I often stood (almost) alone. Of course, I aimed so as to hit, and drew the bow so the arrows might go clear through, and leave a clean hole whence they passed; for it was no holiday with me and I did not play a child's game. But I confess to you, Livermore, I have never felt a resentful feeling against any one which lasted from sundown till sunrise, except in two cases —atrocious cases they were, too." These relations to the militant radical of the time furnish evidence of a fine benignity in his conservative friend.

On graduating from the Divinity School in 1836, Mr. Livermore became a pastor in Keene,

New Hampshire, where he remained until 1850. From that year until 1856, he was pastor in Cincinnati, and from 1856 to 1863, in Yonkers, New York. During this last pastorate, he edited with distinction the excellent New York religious weekly, *The Christian Inquirer*. In these twenty-seven years Dr. Livermore won attention by evidences of scholarship and wealth of mind. On entering the ministry, he at once began the preparation of a popular commentary on the New Testament, an enterprise of importance as furnishing for the first time an assistance to Sunday schools and private study from the point of view of the religious liberalism of the time. His commentary on Matthew's Gospel appeared in 1841 and was commended by Dr. Noyes of the Divinity faculty as the best for its intended readers, a credit to the school where he had studied, a work of sound learning and judgment. The value of it may be inferred from the record of four editions in three years and its republication in Belfast, Ireland. In 1844 he enlarged the work to cover the four Gospels and the Book of Acts. Again he was credited with a discriminating and judicious performance. Dr. Stebbins in *The Christian Examiner* (Vol. 37, p. 252) justly remarked on the neatness and purity of its style, the occasional aphorisms and interesting comments, and those other passages where "his bosom glows." This work was republished in London, in 1846. In 1854 appeared the *Commentary*

on Romans, this, too, praised by the erudite and fastidious George E. Ellis. A fourth edition of this, with two more volumes completing the survey of the New Testament, came in 1881. As the author explained, it was not a work addressed to learned critics, but one that while affording essential historical information would "set the moral and spiritual truth it contains in the clearest perspective."

Livermore was no Parker. He did not add to his Cambridge training much knowledge of the transforming movement of German historical criticism and his commentary, like many another, has been antiquated by the victory of that movement. Yet scholarship was not lacking. He determined the meaning of the New Testament with a close consideration of Griesbach's Greek text, and though he did not encumber his pages with much discussion of older interpretations, he shows that he had laboriously studied them. The work had signal value for a mass of intelligent laymen who had set aside the notion of verbal dictation from heaven or uniformity of value in all the documents of Scripture and yet would fain find in the sacred literature a record of experiences divinely vouchsafed to the religious geniuses of ancient times. Dr. Livermore did not limit such experiences to Christians alone: "I doubt not that Mahomet saved some as well as Moses—and that China has not been a mere blank and desert

of souls."[4] However, since he ranked Christianity as supreme in the scale of religions, he emphasized the factor of divine inspiration in the case of prophets and apostles through whom Christianity came. Further, he said, this inspiration was not one in quantity or one in quality throughout. His most formal statement of the matter is as follows: "The scriptures contain the record of a supernatural revelation from God, mingled, indeed, more or less with the individualities, and of course the imperfections, of the persons who indited them, but possessing an inspiration and an authority, in addition to their truth not granted to other books of wisdom and genius."[5] Even so moderate a claim as this might have restricted the modern seeker to ancient forms and symbols, were it not for still other modifications elsewhere expressed: "The spiritual aid from heaven is ever flowing," he said, and by this he meant an historical development of an ever purer and more discriminating sense of what was essential in the biblical revelation. There are always two questions: What is written and how readest thou? Dr. Livermore read for spiritual quickening, not for science, or exact history, or formal theology. Inspiration was practically measured by its power to inspire a pure life. Use of the Bible was "a spiritual

[4] *Discourses,* p. 161 f.

[5] "The Bible Inspired and Inspiring," in *The Christian Examiner* Vol. 56, p. 165. Reprinted in the *Commentary on Romans.*

process; it was to drink its spirit, con its moral tables and golden rules, exult in its songs, hush the heart with its prayers, descend depth after depth into the passion of Jesus." These expressions are his and they are the expressions of an interest that persists after the most rigorous criticism of the Bible has finished its work.

From the outset, therefore, Dr. Livermore was steeped in the Bible as a standard expression of man's communion with God, religion being to him as to Scougal, whom he sometimes quoted, "the life of God in the soul of man." But this constant resort to the Bible meant no narrowing of intellectual life. He read extensively in literature and history. In his first pastorate he had, indeed, shown marked competency in independent investigation and discussion of an important historical episode, and in later years, in collaboration with another, compiled a minutely detailed history of his native town of Wilton. The first of these works is his *War with Mexico Reviewed*. In 1847 the American Peace Society asked for a review of the war, as to its origin, progress, and evils to all concerned in relation to Christian principles and enlightened statesmanship. The prize of five hundred dollars was awarded to the work of Livermore, which found publication in 1850. It is not a history of the war, though it gives an outline of the history. It is a discussion, a valuable historical discussion. "Its own history is its sufficient exposure,"

wrote Livermore. The work rests on the examination of a mass of public documents, correspondence, speeches, letters, narratives of eye witnesses, and has interesting reflections on the social psychology of our country at that period. Livermore exposes the Anglo-Saxon tendency to assume "the white man's burden" by conquest and colonization; the factor of southern interest in slavery as a contributing cause for the conflict, and the pretences of self-defence. He masses statistics and calculations of the wealth and life expended, the barbarities legitimate and illegitimate involved, the illegalities, the political evils. It is no surprise to read at the end a demand for a Congress of Nations and a World Court as substitutes for military conflicts. Justin H. Smith in his recent monumental work on the war with Mexico holds that Livermore's argument about the slaveholders' interest needs qualification, but his suggestions as to the proper qualifications do not seem to invalidate Livermore's position.

Our concern, however, is with the book as an exhibition of Livermore's mind and culture and that is said once for all by so competent an historian as George E. Ellis in *The Christian Examiner* (Vol. 48, p. 323). "As we turned over the pages of this volume, we were impressed by the wonderful amount of information which it contained, and were fairly amazed at the rich variety of quotations, references and authorities,

drawn from the whole compass of literature, to illustrate and enliven its pages. Authors old and new, the classics of ancient times, philosophers, statesmen, divines, philanthropists, dramatists, poets and belles-lettres writers, are all laid under contribution, to furnish bright gems of thought and diction for mottoes, to point a moral, or to lay the ponderous weight of a truth in the scale of a debated argument." A similar indication of the range of Dr. Livermore's reading and the wealth of his memory is found in an essay on "Gymnastics," published in *The North American Review* in 1855, and of permanent interest to students. With the glow of his own manly health, and the resources of a classical scholar, he pleads that mind and body are a mysterious unity and that the mind can be healthy and efficient only when the physical frame is well maintained. "Ancient philosophers," he said, "can give us no more significant symbols of the fine balance of their systems than the lovely walks of the gymnasium, the arena of active sports for innumerable youths, musical with the voices of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle."

The fullest revelation of Dr. Livermore's inner life and thought is in the *Discourses* published in 1854. They were read then; a second edition was needed in three years. Sermons notoriously lose their power in print, but these expressions of a wise and understanding heart, a fervent and faithful spirit, are vital still not

only by their thought but by the beauty of their style. In the *War with Mexico Reviewed*, Dr. Livermore used a somewhat formal and studied eloquence suited enough to the theme and to the taste of the time though out of fashion now. In the *Discourses* we have the direct simple diction of the speaker, forceful, informal, terse, and often vivid. So, for example, speaking of what he calls the Sphinx riddle of the universe: "We cannot tell whence evil is, how it is, or what it is. But it is,—stern inexorable fact. Evil, suffering, sin, dungeons in Austria, gibbets in Rome, slavery in the South, bloody stripes on the flesh, darker spots on the soul." If the previous volume was studied in manner, this is sheer spontaneity or has the art of seeming such. Often, there is a fine flash of imagination phrased with unlabored ease and brevity. He recalls to us Milton's Satan defeating the divine plan: "Who is this Devil, we ask? If he has done the thing once, may he not again? may he not always? and, finally, may he not carry down to his own black abodes the splendid trophy of a lost human soul, snatched from the hand of God,—yea, of multitudes of such." On many a page, the reader will surely linger to repeat the haunting rhythm and cadence and the rare perfection of the phrase: "They testify that a blessing from above has descended in those rapt and heaven-opened pauses of the mind." Or again: "Instead of this feverish and eager rushing across the

stage of life, as of the horse plunging into the battle, we will lift up serene brows to the calm heavens, and we will repeat in a low tone that beautiful strain, which has been chanted for two thousand years to quiet the restless bosom of humanity, never more restless than here and now,—'Be still and know that I am God.'" Rhythm, tone, movement are in subtle correspondence to imagery and thought.

The sequence of these selected discourses was obviously meant to form a somewhat systematic presentation of Livermore's religious views and we may judge that his classroom instruction was a formal elaboration of these positions. It is the thought of a mind formed in the first phase of New England Unitarianism but passing somewhat unconsciously into sympathy with the second phase which is typified by Theodore Parker. The first phase was a mild Scriptural Arminianism accepting a biblical revelation guaranteed as such by miracle but determining the meaning of the revelation by the exercise of free and devout reason. This was no passive dependence on an ancient oracle. As Dr. Livermore formulated it, "man's ultimate reliance, for faith and practice, is upon his own mind, aided by God's word." (p. 55.) It was a slight step from this to Parker's position. The activity of mind, here meant, was not one of speculative philosophy following the merely logical process of theoretic reason. We begin to hear, instead, something

like Parker's proclamation of a religious consciousness acting in its own independent and specific manner. In religious experience, reason acts in union with conscience and the moral affections. (pp. 56, 57.) The whole self is in play, not in an act of reasoning but of yearning: "The cry of the whole human being, the need of the whole united powers, is the Supreme Good." (p. 150.) When the self thus functions religiously, its awareness is not by logical inference but by direct intuitive feeling, and it is awareness of a Presence that is given, not projected by emotion, the presence of a reality not determined in intellectual forms. "A solemn presence broods, an inconceivable, and sublime, and mysterious Being is round about us. *How* it is, we cannot know or explain. We cannot explain any more how it is *we* are here, in these bodies. We only know it is so. God is a greater mystery. The finite can only catch a distant glimpse of the Infinite. The *fact* is the important thing to feel, not to know the *how*." All images of the *how* "blur and mar for many minds the sense of the universal, spiritual, glorious, and benignant presence of the Father of all." (pp. 154 ff.) Such words are an excellent expression of man's divination of the *mysterium fascinosum* as expounded in the recent epoch-making work of Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*. The other aspect of divine reality, the *mysterium tremendum*, comes to utterance only

in terms of divine majesty; "The want of the soul is not only for a Good, but for a *Great God*. . . . Our nature has been constructed on a scale so large and generous itself, that it cannot in the end be satisfied with anything less than the great, the vast, the illimitable. . . . Heart and flesh stretch out their wings to a flight beyond all visible majesty of heavens or earth, and ask for God, for Him who is greater than all his works." (pp. 158, 159.) Ultimately, then, the basis for religion is in present experience, "aided by God's word." This explains many softenings of the old formal basis in miraculous revelation. Miracles, he says, were not so much proofs, as helps to feel the proofs. They were the rap from the Master's desk, the bell that calls to the temple. (pp. 14, 46.) The very definition of miracle is weakened: "Miracles at man's point of view may be laws at the divine point of view." (p. 15.) So, too, Christianity itself, supernatural in origin, was natural in its continuance and operation. Revelation thus becomes a progressive historical education in the meaning of the idea of God, and in the programme of activity that the Christian principle inspires. "Christianity is divine, for it spreads over the world a sense of the presence of God, and it drives sin from the heart and bleaches it out of the character and life." The old supernaturalism was surely becoming more of a naturalism.

But Christianity was also divine by the divine

commission of its founder, a personal representative of God. "Jesus is God revealed into this world, so much of the Infinite First Fair and First Good as can dawn on these dim eyes of dust." (p. 18.) This, however, was an ethical not a metaphysical doctrine of the divinity of Jesus. Neither was it the older Rationalist notion of a revealer of ideas. The intention is to see in Jesus a new supreme moral type of man; a man in communion with God and interpreting life and duty out of the illumination of that communion. "We needed inexpressibly a revelation of living warmth, spoken by living lips, gushing up from places too deep for tears, and too sacred for aught but the holy eye of God, and acted, toiled, wept, suffered, agonized, and ecstasized out, as ours is, from day to day, through all this wondrous life of man on earth. Such is Jesus, as he appears before us in that simple record of the Gospels." (p. 201.)

The first creed of Protestantism, Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*, was formulated in strict adherence to Luther's revolutionary simplification of religion. In the most explicit fashion it set aside, as not contained in the experience of faith, the metaphysical doctrines of the Trinity and the two natures in Christ. These, said Melanchthon, were harmful intrusions from speculative curiosity; *per Platonicam philosophiam Christian doctrina labefacta est.* The true orthodoxy, the true knowledge of Christ,

was not the adoption of such metaphysical propositions but the knowing by experience of spiritual benefit from him. *Hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia cognoscere, non ejus naturas, modos incarnationis contueri.* Dr. Livermore is one of the noble instances of the man who realizes this earliest ideal of Protestantism, the man who in utter freedom of personal conviction lays hold of the spiritual values of Christianity without the encumbering mantle of associated dogma.

The nobility and greatness of Livermore's total apprehension of human life in relation to nature and history is found supremely in the discourse on "Self-Creation," a discourse which soars majestically above our common flight. Often in these days it is said that to our fathers there was only a static world, but let us listen! "Creation is not finished, nor ever will be, but is ever proceeding. . . . The dwelling place into which man is born has its frame and furniture prepared to his hand, but the finishing is assigned to him. Nature is a wilderness; he is to make it a garden." God has delegated to man, "as his vicegerent on the earth," the power and skill to carry out the plan of the creation of the physical elements. With swift, impetuous, unconscious rhetoric, Livermore portrays the emergence of civilization as the first stage of this divine-human creativeness, then passes to the meaning of Christianity as the superadded task of a new

spiritual creation. Here without the term, we find all the intramundane meanings of the "Kingdom of God," meanings which for Livermore embraced art, science, society as well as religion. Man is placed on earth to create all things new. "He is thrown naked on the earth, like the giant of the fable, that he may wrestle with its rude elements, grow up, grow strong in its varied and searching probation and discipline, and snatch grace, love, wisdom and beauty from its passing scenes and ever-fluctuating fortunes. After the hardest part of the work has been done for him, and the materials, instruments, motives, and directions given, he is left to stand as it were in the place of the Creator and fulfil his design. . . . Given, instinct, reason, the Gospel of Jesus; required, a new human race, a new moral and spiritual creation." But he who quotes must refrain from quoting all of this beautiful and inspiring address.

This account of Dr. Livermore's earlier career justifies the Meadville memory that his hospitable home was a scene of the highest culture. His connection with the school began before his presidency. In the summer of 1855, while still a pastor in Cincinnati, he was made a member of the Board of Instruction, one of the dual boards of government, and, beginning with the academic year 1856–1857, served as a non-resident professor lecturing before the whole school for a brief period each year. The records

do not indicate the subject of these lectures. Although he was now forty-five years of age, his mind had the fresh buoyancy of youth, as may be seen by an article on the "American Church" which appeared in *The Christian Examiner* in January, 1856. Here he set forth that the Church in the new world had been so far an imported article, only intensified into revivalism, camp meetings, anxious seats, and itinerant evangelists "to accelerate the speed of the operation." He deprecated the disposition to perpetuate forever what the fathers had found sufficient. "Can such terms of uncalculated greatness as life, duty, faith, revelation, immortality, God, Christ, admit of no new conception, no jet of fresh inspiration, no gleam of a richer beauty, no touch of a tenderer pathos, no thrill of a mightier power, no combination of a wiser use? . . . In the dark ages, in grim wars and feuds, in lonely monasteries and awe-inspiring churches, with the superstitions and traditions of paganism still lingering upon the hill and valley, the lake and the forest, election, infant damnation, mysteries and terrors, and the glare of a material hell, did not jar on the sense so very badly, but chimed quite well with the severe tone of life everywhere. But all this is changed. Free America must have a free Church." Its characteristics will be freedom, reason, and especially humanity. "The old idea was, All for the glory of God; the new one is, All for the good of man, and

then all will be for the glory of God. . . . Blessed era of the world! when, at last, the happy idea dawns on the Church, that it is to vindicate the right to be, not by demonstrating the five points of Calvinism to be true, but by clearing up and reforming and blessing the dens of the 'Five Points' of vice and misery in our cities."

During the twenty-seven years of his presidency, Dr. Livermore was able to complete his *Commentary on the New Testament* and the *History of the Town of Wilton*, and to contribute articles to *The Unitarian Review*. The articles furnish a delightful account of a summer in Europe (April and July, 1874), a discussion of the personality of Jesus (June, 1875), the American physical man, a lively and learned paper showing command of vital statistics (February, 1877), the abolition of prisons (September, 1890), the New England township (May, 1891). He printed also certain public lectures. This productiveness is surprising under the conditions of the school. It was necessary to maintain a complete theological curriculum and to add a considerable number of courses to remedy the deficiencies of students, but without an adequate endowment. The president and his associates were burdened with an inhuman programme of teaching. He gave courses in Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Old Testament Literature, Biblical History, Hebrew, Systematic Theology, Ethics, Homiletics, and

sometimes others like the Creeds of Christendom. It is clear that under his administration there was no stagnancy in the life of the school. For all his antecedent conservatism he introduced into his instruction in the Old Testament in 1886–1887, the work of Kuenen and Oort and Hooykaas, modern critics severely condemned by Dr. Stebbins eight years earlier in *The Unitarian Review*. At the age of seventy-six, therefore, he was trying to adopt the modern criticism which ever since has reigned in Meadville. But long before this there was a more striking innovation, one that shows him as a pioneer. Some attention to non-Christian religions had always been furnished in the course on Natural Theology, but the time was approaching when a full and friendly treatment of ethnic religions was needed. The first course given in this subject in any European University was by Bouvier in Geneva, in 1868–1869. Max Mueller's lecturing began in 1870. But American Unitarian scholarship was quite as early in the field. Certainly as early as the academic year 1868–1869, coincident with Bouvier's beginning, James Freeman Clarke lectured on the subject in the Harvard Divinity School, contributed articles on it to the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1869, and in 1871, published his *Ten Great Religions*, the first treatise in this field. In this forward movement Dr. Livermore had a share. Between November 11, and December 19, 1868, he gave a

course of twelve lectures in the Lowell Institute in Boston, on the "World's Debt to Christianity or Comparative Religion." These lectures were mainly, to be sure, an argument for the superiority of Christianity, but an argument on the basis of what was meant as scientific comparisons. They began with an attempt at a scientific classification of all religions, with regard to which Livermore said, "The study of comparative religion is as good in its sphere as that of comparative anatomy, to ascertain the true principles of classification, and the true order of nature." What modernity lurks in his propositions! Natural theology now includes Christian theology, which has become naturalized, part and parcel of the world into which we were born. . . . All religions have pointings to the perfect religion, as all animal organizations prophesy man." The next year Livermore gave a course on Comparative Religion in Meadville. The school, therefore, has the distinction of being anticipated here only by the Universities of Geneva and Harvard and only by one year. In 1872 the Meadville course was in charge of Rev. Charles H. Brigham. In 1879 it was undertaken more elaborately by Professor James T. Bixby, whose chair was specifically named "Religious Philosophy and Ethnic Religions." This was certainly one of the earliest professorships specially assigned to the subject. The separate chair in Geneva dates from 1873. Albert Reville's

chair in the College de France began in 1879. On Professor Bixby's retirement in 1883, the subject was continued by Professor Barber until the advent of the accomplished and inspiring teaching of Professor George R. Freeman.

This was not the only instance of a modernizing policy under Livermore's administration. In many ways, indeed, the instruction was enriched by the engagement of tutors to remedy deficiencies in Latin, Greek, and German, and by the provision of more non-resident lecturers; but one particular development illustrates again a pioneering spirit in Meadville. As may be easily understood, Dr. Livermore's course in Ethics had included topics related to social problems, but in 1881–1882, a new beginning was made by the engagement of Edward Everett Hale for a series of lectures on "Charities and Reforms." In 1885–1886 Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland expanded the subject with the title of "Social Science" and in the following year Professor Barber boldly introduced "Political Economy" and lectures on "The Church in Relation to Social Problems." To this was added in 1888–1889, a series of lectures on "Sociology" by A. G. Jennings, J. B. Sunderland, Pitt Dillingham, George A. Thayer, and W. I. Lawrance. A similar course was given in 1891. In 1892 began the endowed Adin Ballou Lectureship on "Christian Sociology," and three years later the evolution was completed by the appointment

of Nicholas Paine Gilman to the newly endowed Hackley Chair of Sociology.

Thus with quiet energy, in concert with his colleagues, President Livermore brought the institution into larger life and fresh interests. His exalted character and lovable spirit created in the community a feeling which is recorded in the memorial sermon by Professor Barber (Meadville, December 18, 1892) and in the funeral addresses by J. T. Bixby and F. L. Phalen. "In our friend," said Mr. Bixby, "there was an unmistakable Christlikeness of spirit so lustrous that, wherever he lived, all his neighbors of whatever denomination, recognized him as a genuine Christian and a true saint, if ever their eyes had seen one."

Note: Abstracts of the Lowell Institute Lectures are found in *The Christian Register,* beginning November 21, 1868.

CHAPTER IX

GEORGE LOVELL CARY

PRESIDENT LIVERMORE was fortunate in his associates on the teaching staff, especially in the quiet, but ever wise and efficient coöperation of another gentle scholar, George Lovell Cary. John Trevor, who on a journey from Australia to England halted for a year in Meadville (1878–1879), has left some comments in his work *My Quest for God*. "The work at Meadville," he wrote, "which struck me as most masterly, was Professor Cary's exegesis of the New Testament. It was all so new to me—this cool and natural and honest way of treating the Bible. Step by step, fact by fact, I was placed in a position from which the conclusions followed with fatal precision. Some of the students came to the college prepared to defend orthodox conceptions of Hebrew literature. Not one of them went away in the same mental condition. The new light, the higher truth were irresistible." On other pages he wrote: "I learnt much at Meadville, especially in the world of philosophy, under the generous and patient teaching of Professor Cary. . . . The ever patient and almost tender arguing of Professor Cary."

These sentences admirably indicate the preëminent features of Mr. Cary's activity: his introduction of a modern criticism of the New Testament, his initiation of a philosophical current, and his effectiveness in the function of a teacher.

The personality of Mr. Cary has been given permanent expression in a masterly portrait painted for the school by Mrs. Sturtevant, a painting of beautiful decorative value and an extraordinarily accurate reproduction of the man. It shows us a scholar seated among his books, a slight and delicate figure, an elderly man who has kept a certain rosy youthful bloom, and it is said that even in his actual fair youth there was a suggestion of elderliness. Never, perhaps, did any painting achieve so perfectly the likeness of such a modest, unassuming man. Here, surely, is the very mien, gently sympathetic yet keenly attentive, with which in the class room, after his "patient and almost tender arguing," he listened receptively to some ebullient questioning student. The beautiful painting gives form and color to what Dr. Barber called a "rarely modest and benignant personality." One sees, too, in this mild listener, a man sure of his resources, and those who knew him in the flesh will not fail to remember the finely tempered will of steel that made him smilingly endure much frailty of body to the last undimmed serene moment when after more than eighty years of aged youth the eyelids closed.

Mr. Cary was born in Medway, Massachusetts, May 10, 1830, and graduated from Harvard College in 1852. After some brief experience in business, and theological study under the direction of Rev. John Mudge Merrick of Walpole, having attained a Master of Arts degree from Harvard, he went to Antioch College, in 1856, to serve as professor of Greek and Latin under the presidency of Horace Mann. Whoever reads the story of Antioch College as it is told by Dr. G. A. Hubbell, or in the *Life of Horace Mann* written by his widow, will know that heroism was needed in those who essayed to teach in this heterodox college with a bankrupt treasury in the midst of a population described by Dr. Mann as ferociously orthodox. Mr. Cary came to succeed the nephew of Mann who, despairing of the Antioch conditions, had left to take a decently remunerated office in the St. Louis High School. Mrs. Mann says, "Mr. Cary soon filled Mr. Pennell's place of appreciative coöperator and counsellor. He never needed to be told what were the peculiar requisites of a professor in an institution founded on the plan of educating young men and women together. His presence created order; his manners precluded opposition, and inspired the right sentiment for the occasion, without word or remonstrance. It would be difficult to describe his value to Mr. Mann or to the institution." Horace Mann himself, sending messages to his friends from his

death bed, gave prominence to Professor Cary: "Dear Cary!—solid, steadfast, well-balanced, always wise, always right, always firm,—tell him how much I love him!" And again he murmured, "Good, reliable, judicious, firm, gentle, beautiful Mr. Cary." Early in life came this benediction from a great man and after that life had ended Dr. Barber spoke these words of him: "My own friendship with him, during nearly the whole of his long period of service, and my close connection with him for more than half of it, gives me the right to witness to the rare union in him of gentleness and energy, of intellectual freedom with reverence for all essential sanctities, of a personal forbearance that almost went on to self-effacement, with firm adherence and devotion to his own progressive ideals of scholarship and administration,—a union of intellectual and moral elements which gave unusual efficiency as well as unusual beauty to his character and life." (*Meadville Quarterly Bulletin*, June, 1911.)

High success as a teacher in a theological faculty rests not on scholarship alone, but perhaps even more on peculiar superiorities of heart and mind. Especially has this been true in Meadville, the resort of mentally and morally adventurous young men who have broken with tradition and have an unusual independence of mind with a *Wanderlust* for new and untried paths. The chartered intellectual freedom of the

school is an incentive to self-confident individualism. The teacher who deals with such self-assertive spirits must himself be a valiant lover of freedom, yet by his solid learning and comprehension of the interior meanings and values of tradition, serve as a natural and insensible restraint upon crude impetuosity. A prime essential has been a gentle and trustful patience that can win the unforced deference of proudly untrammeled and unformed minds. In the situation of thought following Darwin's impetus to Naturalism, the rise of comparative religion and biblical criticism, movements that inevitably stimulated youth to incautious flights of mind, these qualifications were indispensable, and the teachers of Meadville exemplified them. Dr. Stearns had a certain austerity and a tinge of irascibility, but, as the language of John Trevor, a rather bumptious spirit, shows, Dr. Livermore and Dr. Cary were singularly adapted to their situation. Even the most impatiently rebellious loved their qualities and love made them sufficiently docile. In the baccalaureate sermon of 1911, already quoted, Dr. Barber fittingly says of Livermore: "His rule, if, as it sometimes seemed, too gentle, was most persuasive and endearing, since it was the rule of reverence and affection—the regnancy of the heart." Dr. Cary had the same regnancy, but his gentleness clothed an inflexible persistency of wisdom and quiet energy. He is celebrated, therefore, in

Meadville memory as a teacher of singular value.

The scholarship of Dr. Cary had a character which, in these more recent years, is not common. Our universities abound in men who have a mass of highly specialized information carried into meticulous detail but who are indifferent to the relation of their special field to an organized whole of knowledge and thereby fail of that wisdom and breadth of judgment which comes from appreciation of the relativity of any fact in the full system of its relations. Dr. Cary had his special competencies, in languages ancient and modern, in literature, in natural science, but he had a zeal for establishing orderly logical relations in the full content of his mind. He took pleasure in constructing a "Scheme of Pantology," a minutely detailed, classified scheme of all the sciences, and he printed it in chart form. He came to Meadville in 1862, to apply his trained philological talent to the study of the New Testament, but in such years as it was found necessary to remedy the deficiencies of students by more preliminary training, he was eager to provide courses in logic and psychology and the study of Hamilton's *Metaphysics*. Some consideration of philosophy had, of course, belonged to the curriculum by virtue of the exposition of natural theology, but now with Dr. Cary, we may judge, began the express and extensive discussion of modern philosophy which

thenceforward was a characteristic of the school. The publication of Hamilton's *Metaphysics* in 1859 gave a new impetus to thought and was of peculiar interest to theologians by its delimination of science, which apprehends only the conditioned, from the act of faith which grasps unconditional reality and is an act made inevitable by moral necessitations. At the time the thought of Hamilton was stimulating new thought. Francis Ellingwood Abbot, a man of singular philosophical energy, a graduate of Harvard College in 1859 and of the Meadville Theological School in 1863, may be quoted in respect to this: "To Sir William Hamilton I owe the great service of awakening my philosophical consciousness,—not, it is true, by way of agreement, but by way of polarization to opposite opinion." With the arrival in Meadville of Dr. Bixby (1879), began the marked influence of Lotze—a natural transition to a higher realism. Following Bixby, Dr. Barber also expounded Lotze and introduced the study of Martineau. This indicates the type of philosophical thought prevailing in the first half century of the school's history.

After Darwin's *Origin of Species* made the theory of evolution a burning question, the school, with enterprising modernity, reinforced the treatment of natural theology by specific courses in zoölogy and botany though they were naturally not of an advanced type. This was cus-

tomary for twenty years beginning with 1863, and Professor Cary took part in this by classes using Agassiz and Gould's *Zoölogy* and Silliman's *Natural Philosophy* with some expansion by lectures. Apparently in dealing with the burning question of the day, Dr. Cary's attitude at the outset was that of Agassiz, explaining the evolutionary succession of forms by reference to a divine plan of succession of types but doubting that the interrelated species could have arisen by genetic descent. The advent of Dr. Bixby opened a new chapter in this matter.

It was, of course, in his special field as an expositor of the New Testament that Dr. Cary won his preëminence in the Meadville Faculty. The school library contains Dr. Charles W. Wendte's accurate reproduction of Cary's course on Matthew's Gospel for 1866–1867, and the final mature expression of his views is to be found in his work on the *Synoptic Gospels*, published in 1900, in the *International Handbooks of the New Testament*. Dr. Cary was one of the earliest theological teachers in our country to take the path of a free scientific treatment of the authorship and interpretation of the Gospels and he early won the repute of radicalism, temperate and devout as he was. There were some murmurings over his attitude to matters like the problem of the Fourth Gospel and the stories of miracle, but he remained serenely indifferent to dissent and kept quietly and imperturbably to the

even tenor of his patient progress. He had the methods of the philologian, free from doctrinal bias. In the correspondence preserved by Frederic Huidekoper, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship, there is evidence that Huidekoper, himself an accomplished classical scholar, was prone to seek and accept Cary's judgment about textual details. Cary's *Synoptic Gospels* with its careful, accurate, neatly proportioned structure and contents, may stand as a useful monument of the judicious liberal criticism representing advanced modern views before that stage of interpretation which was initiated by Baldensperger's *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* in 1888 and speedily obtained vogue through the works of Johannes Weiss and Wilhelm Bousset. When this new school arose, Dr. Cary was too elderly and too engrossed with the cares of the president's office to assimilate their views, but he did not oppose them. It was characteristic of his complete open-mindedness and his faith in freedom that he turned over much of his New Testament teaching to a disciple of this newer school and never was known to intimate any disquiet over views that were in some conflict with his own conclusions. Probably no theological faculty outside of Germany enjoyed such untrammeled freedom with harmonious personal relations as marked the Meadville School under Dr. Cary's presidency. He fostered the utterly modern criticism of the Old Testa-

ment and the brilliant handling of Comparative Religion inaugurated by Professor Freeman whose early death was a great calamity to Meadville theology. He promoted a great expansion in the teaching of church history and the new department of sociology conducted by Professor N. P. Gilman. Under his administration, also, the curriculum was reinforced by a rich provision of visiting lecturers. In particular, he secured the school's enjoyment of visits from distinguished foreign specialists in the field of the history of religions and used the new Ballou lectureship for radical discussion of the problems of social reforms. New and valuable connections were thus established with a larger world, new currents of thought circulated in the school. By all this expansion and intensification the Meadville Theological School under President Cary entered into a new epoch of its history. It is not meant that all these forward movements were due to his sole initiative. His colleague, Professor Barber, ever fertile in progressive plans, deserves great credit for these policies, but the quick and hearty responsiveness of the directing administrator was the indispensable factor of their achievement.

CHAPTER X

CHARLES HENRY BRIGHAM

ON hearing of the death of Charles Henry Brigham, E. P. Evans, who, having left the University of Michigan, was now launched upon his remarkable career as a European *savant*, wrote from Italy: "He was, in many respects, the most remarkable man I ever knew, a full man in every sense, in the vastness and variety of his learning, and in the breadth and universality of his sympathies. He was interested in every branch of knowledge, and could enter into and appreciate alike the aspirations of the mediaeval ascetic and the aims of the most radical of modern scientists. In addition to his intellectual vigor, there was something grand in the robust moral character of the man." This praise from Sir Hubert is a just estimate of the sturdy prodigal of industry who, for ten years, 1866–1876, was a non-resident professor of Mediaeval Church History and Biblical Archaeology in Meadville. When Brigham was appointed to this office, Professor Huidekoper restricted himself to his minute erudition in the first three centuries. To that kind of treatment Brigham's lectures make a complete contrast.

Coming twice a year from his parish in Ann Arbor for fortnightly periods with two lectures a day, he was obliged by the limitations of time to deal with the Middle Ages and the Reformation period in broader outline. He chose the very effective form of biographical treatment, selecting the great dominating personalities whose spirit and accomplishments mark the process of historic change. The selected lectures published by Dr. Livermore in the volume, *Chalres Henry Brigham, Memoir and Papers*, in 1881, show how this method could exhibit the continuity of social movement. The lectures stand on a very high plane and, read to-day, have not lost their interest and value. They rested on very solid learning and a good grasp of historic situations. They are artistic in their construction and are enlivened by a dramatic pictorial play of imagination that shows with what concrete and vivid reality the life of the past was present to the scholar's mind. Above all, they show a remarkable intimacy and magnanimity of appreciation. When they were written there was in our country, little interest in the Middle Ages. They had not yet been illuminated and made attractive to students by Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire,* and in schools of theology mediaeval churchmen were regarded with an eye still somewhat inflamed by the passion of the Protestant revolt. Brigham was exalted above all partisan treatment by the largeness and nobility

of a mind that belonged to the Church Universal. It enlarges the soul to read these portrayings of Augustine, Hildebrand, Ignatius Loyola, St. Charles Borromeo by one who was equally effective in the presentation of Luther and Socinus. The visits of Mr. Brigham were valued by many residents of Meadville as notable opportunities for the extension of culture.

Born in Boston in 1820, Mr. Brigham was trained in the Boston Latin School, graduated from Harvard College in 1839, and from the Divinity School in 1843. He was pastor in Taunton 1844–1865, and in Ann Arbor 1865–1877. After two years of failing health he died February 19, 1879. Until 1877 it could be said of him that he was never sick or tired and that labor was his delight. He was keenly interested in all the humanistic sciences and while a pastor's duties prevented him from being a specialist in any branch, his extensive learning commanded a degree of attention which may be gauged by his election to membership in the German Oriental Society. The varied subject matter of a portion of his library given to the school shows how widely he read, and a mass of travel letters also prove the avidity of his interest and his thorough absorption of all experiences. In May, 1853, he made a voyage by sailing-ship to Europe, spending the rest of that year in the British Isles, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Bohemia, Austria and

Italy. He then made a prolonged and often arduous exploration of Egypt, Palestine and Syria. The rich results of this studious travel gave character and competency to many of the eighteen articles which he wrote for *The North American Review*. There was nothing parochial or provincial in the life of this mind. Its far-gathered wealth and the joyous enthusiasm of its all-embracing sympathies were vitalizing to his hearers in Meadville and to the university students who thronged to his Sunday afternoon lectures on the Bible in Ann Arbor.

CHAPTER XI

CYRUS WILLIAM CHRISTY

NORTH of the school there is a beautiful hillside that shelters the quiet paths where names that once were fondly spoken in Meadville homes are carved in stone for remembrance. There in lonely separation, one reads the name of Cyrus William Christy. Why rests he here far from any kin? Those who now dimly remember him recall that no kindred came to his dying bed or to his funeral. None can tell of his origin. A shy, reserved man, given to solitary pursuits of study and thought in his college room or to botanical search in the fields and ravines, known to few, and dying prematurely, hardly mentioned in life or death, he seems to belong to silence. A search for any printed mention of his stay or his passing finds only an obscure item in the *Meadville Daily Republican* of November 15, 1881: "The funeral of Prof. Christy, who died yesterday, took place at 3:30 this afternoon, at the residence of Dr. Livermore."

All, all are gone—the old familiar faces that greeted him as colleagues in the Hall where he taught and lived, yet a few scanty facts have been gathered to give him place in these Mead-

ville memories. The last winter of his brief sojourn ended for him with sorrow's crown of sorrows: "Nessun maggior dolor' che ricordarsi del tempo felice nella miseria." In that winter, a niece of Dr. Livermore brightened the place with her presence and with the aid of Cyrus Christy employed her active mind in the study of astronomy. Their mutual employment ripened into mutual love, but after the announcement of their betrothal came her swift death, and in the next autumn, he too was gone, leaving this shadowy memory. Only now, buried among unlisted things in the library of the school, has been found the private journal which records his self-communings in the dozen years before he came to Meadville. There is revealed the hidden man. There one reads the intense and poignant spiritual life that lay behind his solitary ways and reserved composure, a life of sacred joys and spiritual suffering, the hidden wrestlings of a man hardly entreated by fortune, losing the old boyhood faith and all too slowly and painfully finding the new. Gladly, would one have met in the flesh the man who so mused and struggled and reverently, now, one salutes the lonely grave.

The journal shows that his home was at Parishville, St. Lawrence County, New York, and there, possibly, was his birthplace. From the records of the Harvard Divinity School, it appears that he graduated from Antioch College

in 1860, at the age of twenty-nine. There, surely, he had the instruction of Professor Cary in Latin and Greek, so that he came to Meadville as one already known. There, too, he must have been intimate with Henry Clay Badger, who presumably is the "dear Clay" referred to in the private journal. The mention of Antioch sends us then to Mrs. Mary Mann's *Life of Horace Mann*, where at last we gain a personal glimpse of Christy, and can read his only discoverable printed utterance. Mrs. Mann speaks of him as "one who grew under President Mann as only noble germs can grow, who saw him in all his later trials, and who watched over his last days with the tenderness of a son, and of whom the sufferer said, 'His touch is as delicate as that of a woman.' " These grateful words introduce pages from a superb characterization of the great teacher by Cyrus Christy, pages which serve also as a revelation of the young author's spirit. They reveal a man of depth and culture who employs an accomplished literary expression. A few sentences from this remarkable address must here suffice: "There are men who seem to front an infinite background of law, justice, and power: in their presence, the reverences natural to the soul rise up to assert themselves. All who came into the presence of Mr. Mann, especially in his hours of work, when the lion within him rose up and fought, felt that awe

and reverence which power, genius, and virtue inspire. . . . The world dealt sternly with him: she brought him to the armories of power; she trained him to industry or diligence, until, as he himself says, it became his second nature. And who shall trace the secret foundations of wisdom and power laid in that theologic or religious orphanage which brings one face to face with despair and with God; which fills one's being with such an unutterable sense of aloneness and captivity, that life reveals itself as a flight through time to the bosom of the infinite Father? Who shall tell us what magazines of will are gained, of grim earnest force, direct, persistent, affirmative, swift; what clearness and length of vision?"

After graduation from Antioch, in the years of the Civil War, Mr. Christy seems to have been in Louisville and, according to the recollection of a college-mate, active in the service of the Sanitary Commission, while another remembers employment with a Freedman's Bank. Mrs. Mann's work, which was published in 1865, speaks of him as Curator of a Soldiers' Home "in Memphis, Mississippi." The journal begins in November 1865 and shows that he was then a newcomer in New York, acting as secretary to a Dr. Warriner who was writing a work of an historical nature. Apparently the enterprise dragged and broke down and with arrears of salary unpaid, Mr. Christy returned in January

1869 to his home in Parishville. "Poverty, wilfulness and lapsing faith," as he wrote in his journal, kept him there for three years, an arduous student still, however he may have earned his bread, but, in January 1873, he at last entered the Harvard Divinity School. His classmate, John Graham Brooks, reports: "No one, I think, knew him with the least intimacy. He took little exercise, worked overtime, and had the air of one never quite well." Graduated in June 1875, he seems to have been again a resident in Divinity Hall in the autumn, but the journal, continued to March 13, 1877, gives no further indication of his occupation or location, being confined to his studious reflections. The withdrawal of Professors Huidekoper and Brigham in 1877, led to the engagement of Christy. "He was," says Dr. John Graham Brooks, "the only favorite of Dr. Hedge who had high opinion of his ability." In Meadville he followed Hedge's method of teaching, using Neander as a basis with a system of lectures and recitations. For such students as were not yet admitted to the theological programme, he had also classes in Latin, English style, and botany. As already said, it was the policy at that time to enable the students to deal competently with the debate on the theory of evolution by providing courses in zoölogy and botany. As the result of his own local research, Professor Christy printed a *Check List of the Flora of Crawford County*, which,

with his *Herbarium*, is found in the Meadville Public Library.

Amabat nesciri, as we read of many old mediaeval brethren, yet we may be allowed to lay this little wreath of memory on his lonely grave.

CHAPTER XII

JAMES THOMPSON BIXBY

IT has been noted that the administration of President Livermore made an open door to new knowledge and new thinking. An unquestionable instance is found in the appointment of James Thompson Bixby to a chair which should deal with the relation of religion to the new evolutionary natural science and the infant science of comparative religion. The man so chosen in 1879, was fully abreast of the advanced thought of the day. Dr. Bixby was born in Barre, Massachusetts, July 30, 1843, and graduated from Harvard College in 1864, receiving also a Master's degree in 1867. He then completed the course of the Harvard Divinity School and in 1870, became a pastor in Watertown and four years later in Belfast, Maine, where he served until his removal to Meadville in 1879. During these pastorates, Dr. Bixby was an incessant student and began his contributions to the new theology of his time, the "scientific theology" as some called it, since it was altered from the older type by the necessity of meeting the test of demonstrable natural science rather than the dogmatic tests of infallible Bible or

infallible Church. Spencer, Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley dominated over-attention and compelled a new discussion of theistic faith. Immediately, on beginning his first pastorate, Mr. Bixby planned an argument to reconcile science and faith, and in 1872, presented the argument to his Watertown congregation. He developed this further in three articles in *The Unitarian Review* for August, October, December 1874, and gave it final form in 1876 in the volume entitled, *Similarities of Physical and Religious Knowledge.* This masterly discussion is not yet obsolete, even in our swiftly changing time. It refuted the current claim of an absolute antagonism between science and theology by showing that both employ the same methods of observation, induction, and experimental verification. It is obvious, however, that the theology so characterized is theology as Dr. Bixby ideally conceived it, the application of a new scientific method to religious phenomena. Dr. Bixby argues that science itself does not rest with the sense impressions, but transforms them into an abstract construction which involves faith in the supersensual, the immaterial, the infinite. He insists that science must extend its domain. "Religion has its facts as well as Science; the immaterial thought, the self-directing will, the sense of right and wrong, the consciousness of moral responsibility, these are facts as much as attraction of magnet or undulation of sound-

wave.—A complete science ought to study these facts candidly, and draw from them their logical inductions—soul and God." The voice that spoke here was the voice of the years to come. Rejecting the claim of infallibility for Science, Church, or Bible, Bixby frankly remarked that while Jesus was our best embodiment of spiritual perfection, he was not exempt from the limitations of human knowledge. Dr. Thomas Hill (*Unitarian Review,* July, 1877), while approving the general argument of the book, was alarmed at the implication that Jesus shared the ordinary defects of human understanding. The man that was to come to Meadville had his disturbing radical side.

Dr. Bixby was destined to be a prolific author, but in power of thought and eloquent effectiveness of expression he never surpassed the publications of these earlier years in *The Unitarian Review.* In his discussion of "Law and Providence" (September, 1876), he abandoned all appeal to miracle: "We must put at the foundation of a true scheme of Providence, by the demand of theology as well as of science, the conception that law, absolutely invariable law, reigns throughout the universe." But he argued that the "Divine Mechanism with infinitely more perfect skill corrects the action of one invariable law by another, equally invariable." This was said of the wonderful balances and compensations of the field of nature, but it

was also extended to cover the life of the human spirit, which, while adapting itself to the hard and painful invariabilities of the natural lot, nevertheless transmutes these checks and hindrances into spiritual acquisitions of the will and the heart, so that the inflexible and seemingly unheeding operations of nature are experienced as the direct touch of a Divine Hand of wisdom and love.

He accepts then the scientist's view of nature and, at the same time, will justify the judgments of the religious consciousness. Another aspect of this problem is discussed in an article on "The Motor Power of the Universe" (December, 1876). Science establishes causal connection but only as invariable sequence, ignoring questions of power or agency. It cannot, therefore, exhibit a true causality vested in the individual things of the phenomenal order, or in the laws by which phenomena fall into an ordered unity. We must explain the changes of the universe by the "forces" of nature which are but modulations of one stream of energy issuing from one fountain head of power. But our only insight into that wonderful unity of "force" is by the experiences of the human will. "And by virtue of the necessities of nature, by the character of its higher effects, by the spontaneity and self-direction required in it, especially by virtue of our own inward experience, we know that the higher, truer name of that motive power

is Divine Will." A great modernizing of the old natural theology appears in his "Argument from Design in the Light of Modern Science" (July, 1877). He accepts as fact the derivation of species by descent and the influence of natural selection, but he insists that such development is compatible with purpose. The argument resembles that more recently advanced by Henderson's *Fitness of the Environment.* " Trace the fitnesses and adaptations manifested in an animal body back to certain physical forces acting on its plastic system. These physical forces and this plasticity of organization must have been fitted to do the work done; and their fitness and combination require a similar adapting agent." The solid reasoning of these papers is matched by high rhetorical power.

In addition to this ability to cope with problems of evolutionary science, Mr. Bixby revealed also a remarkable familiarity with German philosophic thought and the new developments of physiological psychology in the hands of Fechner and Wundt. This is shown by articles on Lotze, "Lotze on the Soul and its Organism" (February and March, 1877). The work of Lotze had not yet been translated and was as yet little known in America. Mr. Bixby's range and his alert divination are illustrated by another article on " The Apocalypse of Baruch" (December, 1877). This analysis and discussion of the document discovered and published by

Ceriani in 1871, ends with a suggestion of acute interest: "If the rapid diffusion of Christianity in its first century and many of its chief characteristics to-day are an enigma unless we have a true idea of the Messianic expectations cherished whether secretly or avowedly by the majority of the Jewish people, this must be reckoned as a subject of no inconsiderable importance to all Christian scholars." Mr. Bixby thus foresaw in 1877, the transforming effect of the study of such apocalyptic literature on the interpretation of the Gospels inaugurated after 1888 by Baldensperger, Weiss, Bousset and Schweitzer.

It was in view of such exhibitions of intellectual wealth and power and advanced tendencies that Mr. Bixby was brought to the school in 1879, to deal with the new problems of the hour as professor of religious philosophy and ethnic religions. Owing to the poverty of the institution, the appointment could afford him a livelihood only by his serving at the same time as pastor of the Unitarian Church. With incredible industry, he fulfilled the duties of the pastorate, lectured in the school on Church History, and more extensively on the Relations of Science and Religion, Ethnic Religions and Psychophysics—the latest novelty of the time—and yet was able to keep up a stream of publication in *The Unitarian Review* displaying extraordinary erudition and critical power in the field of non-Christian religions.

One of these contributions has special significance as showing the orderly progress of Dr. Bixby's mind in scientific method. In his earliest discussion of religious knowledge, he had emancipated religion from the old rationalism. Science is the systematized knowledge of the physical universe, while religion, the experience, not the intellectual explanation of it, has its own facts of a different order. It is the expression of man's spiritual nature wakened to spiritual things. Its facts lie in the sphere of emotional and ethical life. Partly by his inductive study of all religions and partly influenced by Newman Smyth's work on *The Religious Feeling* (1877), he came to a more distinct determination of the religious consciousness as an independent and irreducible functioning of the human spirit. This advance in formulation is found in "The Sources of Religion" in *The Unitarian Review*, October, 1880. The primary, original manifestation is in man's wonder before the solemn majesty of nature's scenes, man's sense of weakness and need before the over-arching Power and the awe and sacred fear that ensue. From this there is an evolution to higher, to more rational forms of religious consciousness by means of the refinement of ethical feeling in family and social relationships and through the divining imagination which seeks to satisfy the yearning for Perfection by ideal images of reality beyond all perceived things. Thus man attains sudden

glimpses of a Boundless Being and a Perfect Character and the crown of experience is in the felt magnetism of the Unseen Presence. This specific religious awareness is then to be crystallized into more definite ideas under the control of scientific and philosophical reflection. There is a marked approximation here, to the method of the most recent school typified by the name of Rudolf Otto. Written in Meadville, the essay doubtless illustrates the utterances of his class room.

His teaching career was all too brief. He had an irresistible passion for study in conditions of more leisure and in the summer of 1883, he broke away from preaching and teaching for the gratifications of life in a German university. He began at Heidelberg with courses under Kuno Fischer, Caspari and Schenkel, but later shifted to Leipsic where, in 1885, he was awarded the degree of Ph.D. In 1887 he began a long pastorate in Yonkers, years of ripened wisdom, of prolific production, and of sorrows borne with ardent religious faith. He has left us five volumes, and an incomplete count of his periodical articles mounts to forty. The last of these, "Evolution and the Soul's Destiny," published in *The Biblical World*, September, 1920, was written in his closing years of blindness. He died on December 26, 1921.

CHAPTER XIII

HENRY HERVEY BARBER

THE successor to Dr. Bixby as professor of the philosophy and history of religion was Rev. Henry Hervey Barber, who, born in Warwick, Massachusetts, in 1835, educated in the excellent Deerfield Academy and experienced in teaching, had entered the Meadville Theological School in 1858 from which he graduated in 1861. Until his death, January 18, 1923, he had a unique value in the life of the school. Dealing with the large general results of a philosophical and historical survey of the world's life, he had not the elaborate erudition in detail which comes from the secluded and long continued occupation of a teacher. His rich and forceful personality, however, had more claim to regard than belongs to mere academic precision, and he was the personal illustration of what the whole process of religious study should accomplish. In his large intelligent comprehension, in his supremely Christian character, in the serene and noble harmony of a being in which culture and ethical power and religious elevation were a unity, he was the very incarnation of the intentions not only of this

Meadville history but of the great tradition of Unitarian liberalism.

For the twentieth century he was the bond of union with the earlier history of the school. As a student, he listened to Hosmer and Millard, and as a minister, he knew Dr. Stebbins. He had become a trained methodical learner in the classroom of Frederic Huidekoper and had absorbed the vigorous and progressive thought furnished by President Stearns. His note-books preserving these orderly logical discussions are exquisite works of penmanship and exact arrangement, showing the early formation of workmanlike habits as the basis of his later ample and varied acquisitions. He had been intimately befriended with Livermore and Cary whom he undoubtedly greatly influenced in their policies. He had been the chief agent in persuading laymen and churches to furnish the larger endowment with which the school began its second half century. He was eminently representative of Meadville.

He was representative of Unitarianism. His youth in Warwick and Deerfield, his pastorates in Harvard (1861–1866) and Somerville (1866–1884), gave him intimacy with Unitarian traditions where they had strongest hold on community life, and his editorship of *The Unitarian Review* (1875–1884) brought him into the full current of advancing Unitarian thought. The

contributions which he gathered make the volumes of that periodical an important source for those who are to write the spiritual history of our land. It was a time when large questions of science and philosophy and biblical criticism held the social mind, and the editorial office made him share in the activities of able and progressive minds. He came to Meadville with a peculiarly intimate and authoritative knowledge of the liberal movement. Furthermore, he, more than any other who served the school, had experience with the practical activities of the modern pastorate as social questions were beginning to press for attention and to these new interests he had responded with whole-hearted sympathy. In Somerville, he initiated the plan of organized charitable relief and served as the first president of the organization. In Meadville, he lent his aid to a similar enterprise. As an officer of the school he was urgent for the development of the study of sociology as necessary to the preparation for a minister's career. In 1887, as already noted, he introduced a course in political economy and social problems, a radical departure then from the proprieties of tradition in theological schools. The founding of the Ballou Lectureship and the Hackley Chair of Sociology owed much to his efforts. It was a disappointment to him not to serve in this new chair but he yielded cheerfully to the candidacy

of one who had won special prestige in that field of study. His main employment was with the philosophy of religion. He held his students to the study of Martineau, Lotze and Pfleiderer, sharing with the last-named an emphasis on the growing literature of the history of religions. His class room was marked by powerful energy of feeling expression. But outside of the class room, Professor Barber was also a teacher in the happy informalities of social intercourse. His home, with its charming, unconventional hospitalities, was a resort for all who felt the attraction of his full knowledge of literature and interesting men. At his fireside, with a voice whose deep, impressive, rotund melody can never be forgotten, he kindled many a student to share his special love of Browning's soundings of the human spirit. In incidental encounters and conversation he was always the well furnished man of extensive culture and broad acquaintance so that a chance meeting was surely remembered as a charming little event, a real meeting with a personality of noble dignity, always of cheerful mien and friendly sympathy, always with a word that lifted one from the common rut. Given these traits, it may easily be understood how much he contributed to the school community in the conferences and discussions which were, in those days, weekly occurrences. Here he was at his best, responding to the provocations of discussion with the animated expression of his

hearty good humor and tempered wisdom, in a direct and spontaneous diction which surpassed his more formal discourse.

The Meadville Theological School was never a mere matter of class rooms and library. It begins each day in the Chapel, with moments of confrontation with the divine life that are an inevitable discipline of the heart and will. Would that all could remember those days when the sonorous splendor of Dr. Barber's opulent voice gave majesty and tenderness to the words of Scripture and solemnity to the invocations of prayer! It is to remember moments when sluggish hearts woke to a sense of divine grace and consolation in real presence. Thus in the house of devout studies he was peculiarly a pastor, and in his participation in the life of the general community there were occasions when his ministrations gave reality to the sacramental element in religion. By simple devoutness and elevation of the soul, he made act and symbol, as well as fitly spoken word, a true hallowing of signal moments of life, those recurrent times when the christening of children welcomes them to the inheritance of all that descends from him of Galilee who took the children into his embrace of blessing, or when the consecration of unions of love make the family a sacramental covenanting with God, or when the benedictions of the church solace those who sit in the shadow of death; above all, when in rehearsal of the Last

Supper the bread is broken and the wine is poured that men may feel communion with the age-long fellowship of those who have sought to live by the spirit that was in Jesus. In all these he was a great teacher.

CHAPTER XIV

GEORGE RUDOLPH FREEMAN

HE who writes these pages for remembrance thinks often of a house of fine New England type, built by Dr. Folsom and long inhabited as a school property by President Livermore. The place was called "The Lindens" from the two stately American linden trees that centered the green lawns on each side of the long path leading to the old colonial doorway, lawns that then were screened from the outer world by hedgerows of hemlock and flowering shrubs. Many a change has diminished the charm it had for the writer when he came to it in September, 1893, glad for the offer of brief hospitality and singularly favored by the lengthening of that kindness over two happy years. The mansion had sheltered none but scholars and now it was the home of Professor Freeman who, in infinitely patient and painstaking studious toil, surpassed them all and yet could welcome many a guest to cheerful hours of wise and gently humorous discourse on the world of thought and thinkers. Professor and Mrs. Freeman found joy by affording frequent hospitality to the students or to the stream of interesting lecturers

who in those years visited the school. Still in memory glows and sparkles the hearth fire where, after the table talk, the host's adroit art of suggestive question or remark would draw from the visitor his most fascinating tale or most cherished argument. There, too, Mr. Freeman could be won to rehearse vivid childhood memories of the thrilling crisis of battle at Gettysburg or later contact with battles of thought in universities here and abroad, or, when questioned about some book or speech, would, to the marvel of the hearer, reproduce the thought with connected consecutive detail and sometimes much of the diction.

Professor Freeman was born in Gettysburg in 1850 and, after graduating from the Lutheran College there, spent a year in the Lutheran Theological School. He then entered the graduate school of Yale University to devote himself to the study of languages, ancient and modern, but found himself still drawn to theological inquiry. To provide means for this pursuit he left Yale at the end of one year and for three years was a teacher in Gettysburg and Bethlehem. He then completed a course of study in the Yale Divinity School which earned for him appointment to the Hooker Fellowship. He was resident Fellow in New Haven for a year, at the end of which he married and with his wife went to the University of Berlin, where for two more years he gave himself to the critical study of

the Old Testament, chiefly under August Dillmann. Returning to America in the spring of 1888, he became the pastor of the Congregational Church in Dexter, Maine, but, under the spell of Professor Toy's great erudition and critical method, speedily returned to study in the Harvard Divinity School where, as a scholar so advanced, he was made Williams Fellow. For a second year he combined study with the ministry of the Unitarian Church in Wayland, and then in 1890, brought to a professorship in Meadville the rich lore and experience gathered in this prolonged preparation in the field of Old Testament criticism and comparative religion. One may doubt if in those years of special interest in critical historical studies any class room was more profitable to the learner than his. It was a tragic loss to the Meadville school and to American scholarship that he died of a sudden and acute illness, April 10, 1898.

Concerning the career thus prematurely ended, Professor Toy wrote as follows: "Professor Freeman's scholarship may be characterized by the two words 'fullness' and 'caution.' He was a wide reader, ransacking all sources for material in his chosen field, yet knowing how to give to each its due weight. He neglected no book, and he let none pass without sifting. His fine sense of proportion kept him free from crotchets and vagaries. Nature endowed him with good judgment; and this, by reading and reflection,

he trained into critical soundness. His opinions on books relating to the Old Testament were valued because it was known that he was clear-headed, impartial, and impersonal. No man was ever less polemic than he; yet he none the less was able to indicate with distinctness the weak points of an hypothesis, and to oppose what he thought wrong, always however, with such quietness and kindness as robbed opposition of its sting. This unbelligerent character of his critical work may often have escaped notice, but it must be regarded as a very important part of his scholarly outfit. It would be hard to exaggerate the harm that has been done biblical research by the antagonistic temper of mind that has often controlled it,—a temper sharply opposed to fairness and insight. Not the least valuable of the legacies Professor Freeman has left his pupils and friends is the recollection of his spirit of calm, dispassionate inquiry. He was an investigator, not an advocate. He carried this spirit into his treatment of the opinions of his teachers (to whom he always showed a beautiful devotion), never accepting conclusions without scrutiny, often in the form of a question suggesting a difficulty, and at the same time its solution. His genial intellectual hospitality was always accompanied by an equally genial *skepsis*. These qualities were apparent in him when he studied with me (rather as co-worker than as pupil) in the Harvard Divinity School, and they be-

came more marked when he entered on his work as teacher at Meadville. This was his proper work. His happy combination of traits not often found together—large intelligence, frank recognition of authority, unfeigned modesty, and critical acumen and severity—made him an admirable guide for young men. It is a pity that the power of such a personality cannot be handed on, in complete form, from generation to generation, especially when the man leaves few written records of his work. What Professor Freeman wrote makes us regret that he did not write more. His caution in the formation of final judgments, and the high standard of performance which he held up before him, made him linger over his work. If he had carried out his literary designs, his writing, while marked by the breadth and sobriety that distinguished his thinking, would doubtless have shown less of a certain reserve which appears in some of his productions,—a reserve due simply to his unwillingness to commit himself to a position till he had examined it on every side."

The personality of this scholar won the heart and mind of pupils and colleagues. The simple direct naturalness of his manner, his kindliness and delicacy of feeling, a quick and careful thoughtfulness for others while his uncalculating goodness made him forgetful of self,—these traits made him a valued friend to all. The same characteristics pervaded his intellectual life.

The learner found in him an acute and eager intelligence, a sympathetic understanding which clarified and animated the great mass of his knowledge; but his extraordinary modesty and deference to other men hid his power and attainments from himself. While this lack of self-recognition intensified his labor over the drudgeries of minute details of critical investigation, his strenuous persistency bore rich fruit. He was constantly deepening and refining his knowledge. It was the spectacle of an organic and continuous intellectual life, faithful to the slightest demands of the scientific conscience, and yet grasping the leading points of view and conveying the result with a clear delightful simplicity. His humility and ardor gave saintliness to his achievement of professional duty. Popular applause might have been won by a fraction of the labor, but the austerities and weariness of his work were willingly endured in his devotion to a higher perfection.

Literary projects were shaping in his mind but the fulfillment was not vouchsafed. He published only reviews in *The New World*, *The American Historical Review*, *The Unitarian*, *The New Unity*. But his students published a precious little memorial in the form of a selection of his "Chapel Prayers." Concerning these, the words written by President Cary for a preface are exquisitely fitting and one passage may be repeated here:

"That transparent sincerity which characterized his whole life shone out with especial radiance in those expressions of what he most wished both for himself and for those who, day by day, were longing with him to sound the fathomless 'depths of God' and to reach ideal heights of human endeavor. He valued much that freedom from prescribed form which the recognized liberty of the place allowed, and which he felt to be the surest safeguard against that devotional cant which always tends to smother the healthy life of the spirit. Although he did not realize that he had such a lofty mission, it can hardly be doubted that these simple, earnest, and truthful utterances of his had a permanently formative influence upon the minds of not a few who needed just such a well of inspiration to save them from spiritual drought. That intellectual uprightness which made the utterances of the lecture-room a constant object-lesson in the noblest ethics became in the chapel-desk the glow of an equally pure and noble ethical purpose. He had no thought that these prayers would answer more than the immediate call of the hour of devotion which gave them birth, but none the less he deemed it a duty to clothe them in a worthy garb. Extemporaneous effusions of shallow feeling, dressed in stock phrases gave him no joy. The duty pressed upon his conscience of ever giving his best in thought and speech to the services of the Highest. Thus

have been saved for wider and more helpful use than he had planned, those winged words of the morning, which else might have passed within the clouds of forgetfulness."

CHAPTER XV

THOMAS HILL

FROM this memorial record the names of George J. Abbot, John Tunis, and Egbert Chesley, who for brief periods gave instruction in the school, have been omitted, but the name of Thomas Hill is too eminent to allow omission. Of Dr. Hill, Charles W. Eliot says in his *Harvard Memories,* "I have always been thankful that it was he who had charge of the University for the seven years preceding my election to the presidency." In his *Sequel To Our Liberal Movement,* Joseph Henry Allen characterizes Hill as "one of the most marked and remarkable men, if we consider the special qualities of his many-sided intellect, that we have ever known among the members of his profession." In the last ten years of his life this gifted man gave distinction to Meadville by coming from Portland, Maine, to deliver a course of twenty-four lectures on the "Postulates of Religion and Ethics." These lectures were published in 1895, edited by Professor Barber who added an admirable preface. For power of thought, they loom large in the annals of Meadville.

In an article on "Books That have Helped

Me," published in the *Forum*, Vol. 4, December 1887, Dr. Hill has given an engaging account of his early years and his career has been admirably summarized by Andrew P. Peabody in his "Biographical Notice of Thomas Hill" in *The Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* Vol. XXVII. He came of worthy stock, his parents belonging to the group of Unitarian exiles who took refuge in America from the intolerant reaction expressed in the Birmingham riot in which Priestley's library and scientific collections were destroyed. His mother, Henrietta Barker, daughter of Samuel Barker who after refuge in France came to America in 1795, was a grand niece of the eminent Dr. Joshua Toulmin. His father, Thomas Hill, born in Hall End, near Tamworth in Warwickshire, was an admirer and follower of Priestley. The father's educational privileges had been meagre, but he was an industrious reader in the fields of science, politics, and theology, and though he began life in exile as a tanner, he rose to the office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The future president of Harvard was born January 7, 1818, the youngest of nine children. Schooling began when he was nine years old and ended before he was twelve. Then, the parents being dead and the brothers and sisters leaving New Brunswick, the boy was apprenticed to a printer. Three years later he had eighteen months of study in

a school conducted by a brother near Philadelphia, but thereafter, until he was twenty, he served as apprentice to an apothecary. Only some four years of schooling are recorded in addition to home training, but in this "precociously studious boyhood," as he later described it, he had laid the foundation of extensive learning. It was a clever boy who in his eleventh year, "without hint or suggestion from any quarter," had decided that reasoning "consists in connecting the conclusion to be proved, with self-evident premises, by a series of self-evident steps." A promising lad, surely, who, before the age of twelve, had repeatedly read the works of Erasmus Darwin, "beside diving continually into the Edinburgh Encyclopedia and into Franklin's works." As the druggist's apprentice he used the early morning and the evenings and spare moments of the day in the study of Priestley and Locke, and cultivated habits of observation by the help of Beck's *Manual of Botany*. In 1838, "a sturdy, unpolished youth of twenty, of rustic training," as J. H. Allen describes him, he asked admission to the Harvard Divinity School, but was induced by Henry Ware, Jr., to undertake a college preparation. After eight months of tutoring from Rufus Stebbins in Leominster, beginning in May, and a few months after January in Leicester Academy, he entered college in August, 1839, and was recognized as the ablest intellect in his class. A year

before entrance he knew no Latin or Greek, but his hurried preparation was not perfunctory. "Sallust's *Cataline* and Jacob's *Greek Reader* stirred me up to more earnest thinking in one year than I had ever dreamed of." His acquisitions were permanent. In his Harvard presidency, not having written a Latin sentence for twenty years, he made a Latin speech which won praise for its Ciceronian elegance. His eminence in mathematics is measured by the offer to him on his graduation from college of the directorship of the National Observatory in Washington. As a college student, he invented the "Occultator," an instrument for calculating eclipses, and he found time to read Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, Galileo's *Dialogues on Motion*, some of Newton's writings, Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher*, Comte's *Cour de Philosophie Positive* and *The Bridgewater Treatises.* From college, he passed to the Divinity School, graduating in 1845, and then began a happy pastorate in Waltham which lasted twelve years. In 1859, he was persuaded by his kinsman by marriage, Dr. Henry Bellows, to succeed Horace Mann as president of Antioch College. Rufus Stebbins once wrote to Mann, "The desperate fight at Thermopylae was nothing compared to your struggle to save Antioch from its debts; Heaven grant that you may not be killed by it." [1] In fact, Mann was killed by it and

[1] Hubbell, *Life of Horace Mann*, p. 186.

Hill was seriously impaired in health. After three years of tragic battling with the Antioch finances he was summoned to the presidency of Harvard University where he initiated policies extended later by his eminent successor. Dr. Eliot emphasizes especially, Hill's encouragement of scientific research on the part of men like Asa Gray, Jeffries Wyman, and Louis Agassiz. A breakdown of nervous energy due to excessive toil and domestic afflictions made him resign his office, September 30, 1868, and he had four years of invalidism, though in December 1870 he gave Lowell Institute lectures on the Natural Sources of Theology, represented Waltham in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1871, and in 1872 accompanied Agassiz on his scientific expedition to the Galapagos Islands. The journal which he kept on his voyage, was later used for popular lectures that were heard with great interest. In 1873 he began a pastorate in Portland, Maine, which lasted till his death on November 21, 1891.

Dr. Hill's versatility was amazing. The reflection cited from the eleven-year-old boy shows that he was destined to be an advocate of that rationalism which is peculiar to a mind gifted in mathematics. This found expression in the remarkable work called *Geometry and Faith* (3rd Edition, 1882). In his Portland pastorate, he added another invention, the Nautrigon, an instrument for solving problems in navigation

without the use of logarithms or computations. To this capacity for dealing with mathematical abstractions, he added a remarkable scientific knowledge of plants, insects, birds, and fishes, resting in part on his own exact empirical observation. He commanded not only Greek, Latin, and modern languages but Hebrew and other Semitic tongues. The Meadville lectures show his competency in the field of psychology, metaphysics, and theology. But he was also a musician, a painter of landscapes and portraits, and those who loved him had pleasure in the poems which uttered his emotional life and his joyous sense of the beauty of nature. He was responsive to Emerson's *Nature,* not as an intellectual theory but as a true expression of nature's meaning to the human heart. He could repeat Emerson's poems from memory, a memory that was stored also with a dozen of Shakespeare's plays. In Waltham and Portland, he served on the School Board and secured the adoption of many improvements in elementary education, contributing many articles on this matter to educational journals. Although in his Harvard presidency he initiated the elective system, he insisted strenuously on a grasp of the complete organization of all knowledge, and gave a striking exhibition of the form of this organization in a work on *The True Order of Studies* published in 1875. A formidable scholar, then, for range and profundity, but extolled in

Meadville homes as delightfully companionable, gracious, kindly, unassuming. He furnished engrossing entertainment by his tales of scientific observation and exploration, but, as one hostess records, "he was entirely modest and self-effacing in all the remarkable tales he told us." He had no pride of intellect and was quite without vanity. "I who am an outsider, knowing no science well—" he remarked in a lecture. This was the humility natural to a great mind conscious of the vastness of the human task of knowledge.

Wonder arises that a man of such gifts did not win more ascendency over the liberal ministers. However he had not the art of popular statement and the complete and most effective presentation of his ethical and theological views was made only in the Meadville lectures published four years after his long life was ended, a time when new topics and currents of thought held general attention. Another obvious reason for his lack of vogue was that he came into seeming collision with the enthusiasm of those who championed the theory of evolution, especially after the publication in 1874, of John Fiske's *Cosmic Philosophy*. To these ardent younger spirits, he seemed a reactionary objecting to an advance in science. This was a misconception, yet there seemed to be ground for it. In October 1877, at a Ministers' Institute in Springfield, Massachusetts, where J. W. Draper

discoursed with great popular effectiveness on the "Origin, Progress, and Consequences of the Doctrine of Evolution"—printed in *The Unitarian Review*, November, 1877—Dr. Hill followed with a criticism of Charles Darwin's theory in a form so abstract and wedded to mathematical reasoning that he won little sympathy. A revision of this address printed in *The Unitarian Review*, February, 1878, with the title "Geometry and Biology," shows that he was not opposing the idea of evolution. He was objecting to Charles Darwin's explanation of the process of evolution. As a theory that one species was generated from another, evolution was, according to Hill, of the highest probability, if it was possible. Darwin's theory of insensible, accidental variation was the point of attack. "The only instances in which specific and generic differences have appeared, in actual development under observation, have been instances of sudden change," or, as *The New York Tribune* reports his words at Springfield, "the evolution, if it has taken place, had been *per saltum*, through causes as yet unknown." In view of the rather general acceptance at the present time of De Vries' explanation by large and sudden mutations, Hill's scientific caution was not without justification. But the more obtrusive argument advanced by Hill belonged to an order of thought altogether obscure to his hearers. Readers of to-day may gain sympathy with it by

remembering that Darwin stressed too exclusively the likeness between living forms while others now emphasize the importance of the differences that emerge in the process of development. Something of this insistence on the emergence of real differences belongs to Hill's argument for the control of biology by mathematics. If one may be allowed to mar his thought by too brief a statement, all change, all movement in the universe was capable of mathematical formulation, and all the sensible properties of matter are the result of modes of motion rhythmical in time and symmetrical in space. To be a true science, biology must, like physics or chemistry, allow mathematical formulation of its law. All classification in zoölogy is based on form and the forms of genera and species can be given geometric and algebraic expression. Indeed, Dr. Hill had a mathematical method enabling him to plot or imagine all the curves to be found in a moving universe, including those assumed by organic matter, and while these curves appear in close gradations, one cannot grow into another. They remain discrete entities. His main idea is put briefly in *Geometry and Faith* (p. 108): "Mathematical science cannot admit the possibility that the rhythm and symmetry of the organic kingdoms is an accidental result of accidental variations; there must be algebraic and geometric law at the basis, not only of each organic form, but of the series

of forms. The series has a unity; capable, when men have attained a fuller comprehension of it, of expression in terms of thought."

The ripest expression of Dr. Hill's thought is found in the Meadville lectures on the "Postulates of Religion and Ethics." "Intellectually," he once said, "man is a ruminating animal," and a longer series of articles in *The Unitarian Review* and *The Biblitheca Sacra* show how persistent he was in efforts for an adequate expression of a theistic faith based on modern science. He had an ardent faith in Jesus as a teacher or revealer of the highest truth concerning God and duty, but he had faith, also, in the competency of the human mind to show evidences of love and wisdom ruling the operations of nature. His "Postulates" is therefore, a contribution to natural theology, a subject which, to the end of Livermore's administration, was an important part of the curriculum. The text book was Paley's and to-day it is the fashion to be scornful of Paley without the trouble of reading him. Those who once read him certainly learned a good many scientific facts, though with an interpretation that now is not so common. The work is an elaborate argument that everywhere in nature we find mechanism, that mechanism reveals itself as a contrivance, and contrivance for an end indicates a directing intelligence. In Dr. Hill's treatment, this teleological argument is quite

subordinated to what he calls the morphological. This line of reflection, especially congenial to a mathematician, is to the effect that "when a material body conforms in its time or space relations to a thought, to a mental law, so that, for example, a proposition concerning one point of its surface or one instant of its duration shall be true for all the points, and for every instant, the presumption is that it was created in obedience to that law." Dr. Hill's science is amazingly modern after all the recent advance in physical and chemical theory. Matter, he says, is known only as portions of space in which certain forces are manifested and all forces are one force producing various modes of motion. Electrons are of course not mentioned, though in his *Geometry and Faith* he wrote, "There is no impossibility in the speculations of Lovering, published in *The Cambridge Miscellany* in 1842; that the atoms of our universe may be stars and suns of a smaller one, composed in like manner of infinitely smaller stars and suns; while our constellations and solar systems may constitute only molecules in a vaster world."

The lectures of Dr. Hill are fresh with interest in the light of the main currents of present thought, a generation after his death. His theory of knowledge is surely congenial to the philosophical physicist; he was a realist, not a philosophical idealist. Moreover, like cautious

thinkers of a scientific cast, he had a clear insight into the limits of knowledge and inductive proof, and made clear discriminations between logical judgments and the non-logical, yet certain, convictions which rest on the *a priori* of the moral, religious, and aesthetic necessitations of our being. His rationalism was, therefore, far from the eighteenth century type. Logical scientific reflection can show that we are a conscious self floating in boundless real space and boundless real time surrounded and sustained by boundless power; that matter reduces to a display of motion, its atoms being points in space from which the manifestations of force proceed, and force an activity which imparts or resists motion. It can argue that in our own bodily life it is conscious will that determines motion; if, then, a mind rules the body and so a portion of the universe, Mind rules the universe. But for the full assurance of infinite love and wisdom in that Mind, we rest in last resort on the discernments of aesthetic and ethical consciousness. The eighth lecture, dealing with Beauty, is of remarkable interest. Through the revelation of beauty we discover the divine love "with a knowledge transcending all merely intellectual belief." Naturally, these modes of thought are consonant with the modern emphasis on the immanence of God and this natural theology cannot be dismissed, as Paley is so often dismissed,

by a jibe at the watch-maker idea, the carpenter theory of the universe. As to this matter there are interesting pages: "When Goethe asks contemptuously,

'Was wär ein Gott, der nur von aussen stiesse,
Im Kreis das All am Finger laufen liesse!'

he is building a man of straw to fight with. No Christian theist supposes God to be outside his world, manipulating it from without. No Christian philosopher ever supposed that God 'manufactured' the world, or 'built' it, or 'shaped' it, in any such exterior sense. The theology of both the Jewish and Christian theologians has always been consonant with that of Saint Paul, who says of the Divine Being that *in* Him we live and move and have our being." (p. 60.) "The universe is far more than a mere series of adaptations of means to ends, unless we exalt the word 'ends' to include the expression of thought and feeling. The universe is a work of art. It is a combination of philosophical ideas expressed in their clearest forms; it is a poem, the utterance of all truth and beauty and goodness. And those who object that this language, like the teleological, makes the creation something outside of and separate from the Creator, put into it a meaning which is not necessarily there, and which is certainly not intended by those who use these figures." (p. 63.) The sensi-

tive soul of this mathematician-philosopher found utterance in his best poem, "In the Woods":

"To the woods, to the woods I go,
Whate'er my frame of mind;
And find my heart
Is there attuned
To holy thought.
In woods I see,
And forest wild,
A husbandry rare;
And the husbandman is God.
In the presence there my soul awakes,
Each passion cools, while faith grows strong.
My little plans of life forgot,
I live for the time, in the life of God.
With him I tend each tree and plant,
Each creature feed, all nature fill;
Then, strong in energy divine,
Back to my little sphere return;
Lo! He comes with me,—makes it His."

When the history of American thought comes to be fully written, the name of Thomas Hill will doubtless gain prestige. If he had enjoyed a more exuberant energy of physical life and if he had been capable of a more fluent and discursive expression of his mind for minds less gifted, he might have made more impression on his contemporaries. It was his misfortune to give this fullest connected exposition of his religious

philosophy only when—to quote one of his hearers—he seemed a kindly, genial old man who had rather dropped out of life. The lectures were solid productions rather beyond the grasp of his students, and the students in any case were now paying heed to a new literature with a different cast of thought.